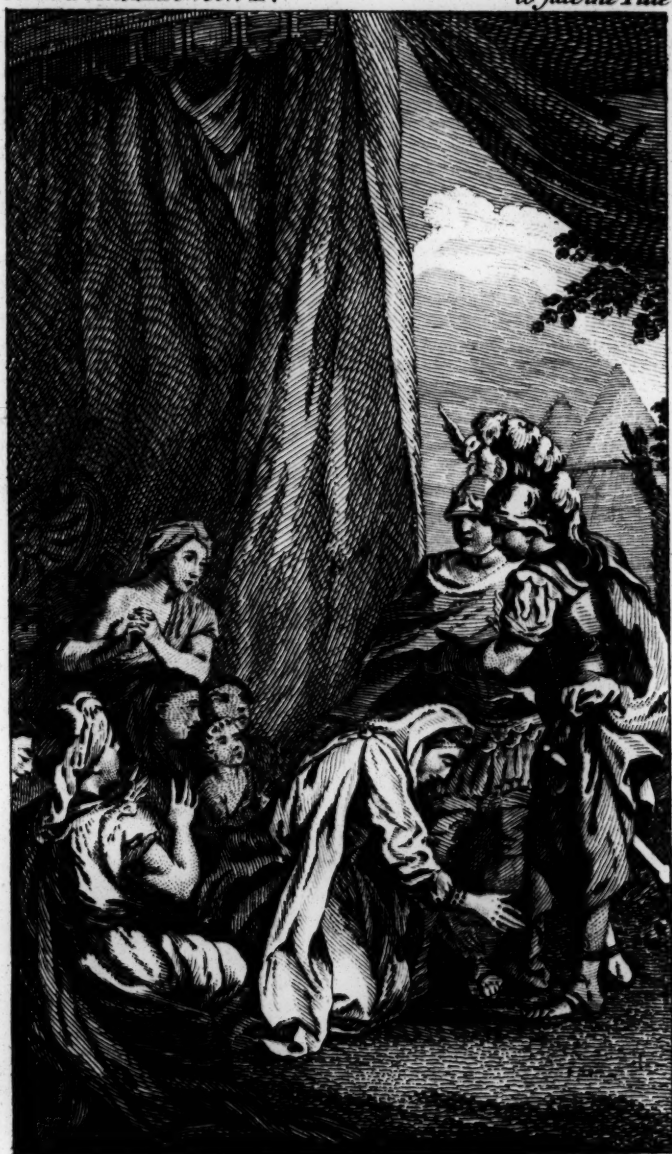


Rollin's Ant. Hist. Vol. VI.

to face the Title.



*. ALEXANDER in the TENT
of DARIUS.*

Published 20. June 1749 by J. & P. Knapton.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,	MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence
in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of
Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

THE EIGHTH EDITION.

Illustrated with Copper-Plates.

LONDON:

Printed for J. RIVINGTON and sons; G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON;
B. LAW; T. CARNAN; T. VERNER; J. KNOX; S. HAYES;
J. SEWELL; H. GARDNER; D. OGILVIE; W. LOWNDES; and
R. BALDWIN.

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BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

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(a) **A**LEXANDER came into the world the first year of the CVIth Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Ephesus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Asia Minor. A great number of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven columns, threescore feet high, which so many † kings had caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The

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rest

(a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

* Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Anciently most cities were governed by their particular king.

rest of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

(b) Hegesias * of Magnesia, according to Plutarch, says, *That it was no wonder the temple was burned, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.* A reflexion, says our author, so very † cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. ‡ Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surpris'd. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not ever delicate in things of this kind.

(c) One Herostratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalise his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told us the name of the criminal.

(d) The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his stile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympick games in the chariot-race. But it was not to
this

(b) Plut. in Alex. p. 665. (c) Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

(d) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Ib. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.

* He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, son of Lagus.

† I do not know whether Plutarch's reflexion be not still colder.

‡ Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in historia dixisset, qua

nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit, minime id esse mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo. *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 69.



this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion? for he was very swift of foot, He answered, *That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.*

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, *Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do.*

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprised them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling; and like one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so-much boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane-tree; (e) and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience: Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature, enquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words,

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the

the difference they found between Alexander and (f) Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, * *This young prince is great, and ours is rich.* That man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. (g) One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of † Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; re-instated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies.

Even

(f) Artaxerxes Ochus. (g) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* Ὁ παῖς ἄτος, βασιλεὺς μέγας ὁ + A city of Macedonia, near the
 † εἰς ἡμέτερον, πλὴν τοῦ. sea-shore.

Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious viatoes, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, * *That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.* The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. † He grew vastly fond of philosophy; and learned the several parts of it, but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgement, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is sensible of the impression of those that surround him, and many other questions of the like import. The reader will naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind so just a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shows how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye witness. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his serious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy. How much must such an education contribute to the

B 3

good

* "Ὡς δι' ἐκείνον μὲν, ζῶν διὰ τῆτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν.

† Retinuit ex sapientia modum. Tacit.

good conduct of a prince with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

(b) The greatest master of rhetorick that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle, to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work intitled *Alexander's Rhetorick*; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, shew that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion * for Homer, shows, not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer †, was that where *Agamemnon* is represented as a good king, and a brave warrior.

After

(b) Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

* Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit.

† Ἀμφοτέρων, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθός, κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

Iliad. 3. v. 172.

After this it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious stones) in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious * production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, † *The best provision for a warrior*. He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the *Edition of the Box* was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

(i) Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle, his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired to possess only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that “ ‡ he had “ much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge “ of sublime and excellent things, than the greatness “ and extent of his power.” He in like manner requested (k) Aristotle, not to show the treatise of rhetorick above mentioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at least must confess, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very

B 4

(i) Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

(k) Arist. p. 609.

* Pretiosissimum humani animi opus. Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

†, τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. This word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the

‡ Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλὴν ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀρετὰ ἐμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς διανοαῖς διατρέχειν.

very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and averſion, which moſt young perſons of high birth expreſs for all things that relate to learning and ſtudy.

Plutarch tells us in a few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taſte, with which his maſter (than whom no man poſſeſſed greater talents for the education of youth) had inſpired him from his moſt tender infancy. *He loved* (ſaid that author) *to converſe with learned men, to improve himſelf in knowledge, and to ſtudy**; three ſources of a monarch's happineſs, and which enable him to ſecure himſelf from numberleſs difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the aſſiſtance of others. The converſation of perſons of fine ſenſe, inſtructs a prince by way of amuſement, and teaches him a thouſand curious and uſeful things without coſting him the leaſt trouble. The leſſons which able maſters give him, on the moſt exalted ſciences, and particularly upon politicks, improve his mind wonderfully, and furniſh him with rules to govern his ſubjects with wiſdom. In fine, ſtudy, eſpecially that of hiſtory, crowns all the reſt, and is to him a preceptor for all ſeaſons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with truths which no one elſe would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himſelf; teaches him to know himſelf as well as mankind, who are the ſame in all ages. Alexander owed all theſe advantages to the excellent education Ariſtotle gave him.

(1) He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſick, painting, ſculpture, architecture, flouriſhed in his reign, becauſe they found † in him both a ſkillful judge, and a generous

(1) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

* Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, καὶ ἀριστα κρῖναι τὸ κατερθέναι, καὶ μάστιγι αἰνέειν αὐτὸν. δυναμειοῦ.

† Μαρτυρεῖται ἔλαβον καὶ θεατὴν, τὸν

nerous protector, who was able to distinguish and reward merit.

(m) But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small pease through the eye of a * needle, which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of pease.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition; was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast, called † Bucephalus. The owner would sell him for thirteen talents, about 1900*l.* sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse; but upon trial he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, *What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!* Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of

B 5

folly

(m) Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

* We may suppose it was some instrument in the shape of a needle. because his head was like that of an ox.

† Some think he was called so,

folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun; having observed that the thing which frightened him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He, therefore, first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his metal abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kissing his head, he said to him, *My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit.*

We are told a great many surprising particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. (n) When this creature was saddled and equipped for battle, he would suffer no one to back him but his master; and it would not have been safe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had

(n) Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy's horse, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himself in so vigorous a manner, that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure at the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it *Bucephalia*, in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere, that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that he afterwards distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

* Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensus humani solatio, animam expiravit. *Aul. Gell.*

SECT. II. ALEXANDER, *after the death of PHILIP, ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He possesses himself of, and destroys Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himself nominated, in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Asia.*

(o) **D**ARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year: the latter was but twenty when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though he were absent, he nevertheless ruled in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment

(o) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 386. Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arrian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious situation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to sooth, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He, therefore, made all possible haste to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the King of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant † answer of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report, which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel.

Demosthenes,

* *Θεραπεύειν ἑτάς ἀρχαί τοῦ νεώτε-
ριστον.*

† Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassadors

what things they dreaded most? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

(p) Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called *a child*, and a * hair-brained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new King of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason; he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

(q) When Alexander had secured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the Thermopylæ. He then spoke as follows to those who accompanied him: *Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, before the walls of Athens that I am a man grown.* He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published,

(p) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 453. (q) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

* It is *μαρτυρία* in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language.

lished, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were sollicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief, that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed
those

those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince, admiring the generous answer of that lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered, in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse in some measure the revolt of the Thebans; a fault, which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors. That what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the

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feat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous Poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest, in number about thirty thousand, he sold, and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They, therefore, had recourse to intreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, *That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard.* The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty

is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of * Orea, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republick. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, King of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the King of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to publick affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terrour of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before

* A city of Eubœa.

fore him. He summoned, at Corinth, the * assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the methods for executing a revenge suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the disposition of most things in the world.

To form such a design required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians; the terror which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Susa; showed plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of

* Plutarch places that diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.

of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have performed actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince surprised to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, *Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine.* This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, *Were I not Alexander,* says he, *I would be Diogenes.* A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, which shows perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his destiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: but then in case he should not be able to compass his ends, he is also sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame as to want nothing. In a word, *all or nothing* presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great

* Homo supra mensuram humanæ superbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere. Seneca de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny himself, on this occasion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on those days, which are called *unlucky*, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, * *My son, thou art irresistible*. This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Note with regard to the sequel of this history.

I could have wished, and it was even my design, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did for those of Cyrus the Younger; this being of great assistance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conquests. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conquests being too large to be conveniently inserted in this volume. But to supply, in some measure, this defect, I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He crosses Asia Minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of

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the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tygris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxartes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almost to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches, first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

* *The capital of Babylonia.*

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SECT. III. ALEXANDER *sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of ACHILLES. He fights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.*

(r) ALEXANDER, being arrived in this kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnising his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadours, generals, and officers, were invited. (s) He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous vision, in which

(r) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. xi. c. 5. 6.

(s) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xi.

* Theatrical representations were so called.

which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

Before he set out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse.

He also enquired into the domestick affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, *My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?* Alexander replying, *Hope*: Says Perdiccas, *The same hope ought herefore to satisfy us*; and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was sensible, that this secret consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his subjects in such a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the sequel of this history will show, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all

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brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them*, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near threescore years of age; and when they were either assembled†, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse‡ under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to six hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the assistance of an hundred and threescore gallies, and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achæians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides; and made effusions in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he

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* Ut non tam milites, quàm neres, senatum te alicujus p̄tiscæ reip, magistros militiæ electos putares. videre diceres. *Id.*

Juslin. l. xi. c. 6.

† These were all Macedonians.

† Ut, si principia castrorum cer-

had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy* talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of great importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

(*t*) Being arrived at the city of Lampfacus, which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. *The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you would destroy Lampfacus.* By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and, after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatness of his exploits. And indeed †, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The *Satrapæ*, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly

(*t*) Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

* *Seventy thousand crowns.*

† *Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum constitisset: O fortunate, inquit, adolefcens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!*

Et verè. Nam, nisi Ilias illa extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset. *Cic pro Arch. n. 24.*

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firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of * one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arsites, a Phrygian satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havock in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to at-

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* According to Justin, their army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand.

Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

tempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up. That besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a revulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the terrour, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread among the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the

the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and re-inforced them with his best troops, heads them himself, animates them by his presence, pushes the Persians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governour of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signified himself, clapped spurs to his horse, and advanced

towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spitrobates falls furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gives him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Rosace's hand with one stroke of his scimeter, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the centre of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts; being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprise they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who

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were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which were set up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed; and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the

rest of the spoils: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained these spoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Asia.* A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

SECT. IV. *ALEXANDER conquers the greatest part of Asia Minor. He falls sick of a mortal distemper, occasioned by bathing in the river Sydnus. PHILIP the physician cures him in a few days. ALEXANDER passes the Straits of Cilicia. DARIUS advances at the same time. The bold and free answer of CARIDEMUS to that prince, which costs him his life. Description of DARIUS's march.*

(u) **T**HE success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the side next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess; solemnised her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work

(u) A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. & l. ii. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Justin. l. xi. c. 71 & 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had already been at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and however afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him, that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him: and indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a show as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, and sold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrison.

(x) Alexander, seeing that the enemy's fleet was failed away, resolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius; which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He, therefore, retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other gallees.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficult access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to see their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were astonished to see a new one behind it; which was so sudden, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a semi-circular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men; because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on the several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently seen at this siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city are the valour and
courage

courage of its defenders. The siege was held out so long, and attended with such surprising difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompassed it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The sceptre devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idrieus, according to the custom of the country; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom succeeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates, his son-in-law. Ada, however, was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

(y) This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him, for that he " was possessed of much better cooks, whom * Leonidas

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his

(y) Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

* Βελτίονες γὰρ ὀψοποιοὶ ἔχειν αὐτῷ· πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀριστὸν νυκτοποιοῖαν, ὑπὸ τῇ παιδαγωγῇ Λεονίδῃ δὲ δομένους, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἡλιχας. αὐ.

“ his governor had given him; one of whom prepared
 “ him a good dinner, and that was by walking a great
 “ deal in the morning very early; and the other prepared
 “ him an excellent supper, and that was dining very mo-
 “ derately.”

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. (z) He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabazus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers, as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to spend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to march thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of (a) Moses; and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learned it from some Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that approving it as a very wise and just custom, he had therefore recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. (b) This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea-shore, which is always dry

(z) Flerus, l. iii. c. 5. (a) Deut. xxiv. 5. (b) Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were, therefore, obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprising that Josephus the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red Sea as on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, *That when he left the city of Phaselis, he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax:* and it is very well known that this prince, who was vastly fond of the marvellous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, son of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of a thousand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered

* About one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

watered by the river Marfyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured: and accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the King marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous residence of King Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so wonderful a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it begun or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. Now Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself; after many fruitless trials, he cried, (c) *It is no matter which way it be untied*, and thereupon cut it with his sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper to extricate him from the present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over-sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly he was declared admiral of the fleet,

(c) Sortem oraculi vel elusit, vel implevit. *Quint. Curt.*

fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

That prince could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately went first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design in execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprise which could have saved his empire. His whole refuge, therefore, now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; whereupon being mustered, they were found to be about four, five, or six hundred thousand men, for historians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly

cordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed, that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk a-breast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only straight; but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the King had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are over-shadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the King, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river,

invited

* *Quintus Curtius supposes it to be so called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the Younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the most probable.*

invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their complaints in the following words: "The greatest prince that ever lived is torne from us in the midst of his prosperities and conquests; not in a battle, or at the storming of a city; but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will conquer before he has seen his enemy. We shall be forced to retire, like so many fugitives, through those very countries which we entered with triumph; and as the places through which we must pass are either desert or depopulated, hunger only, should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to set himself up in Alexander's stead? And should we be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall we furnish ourselves with vessels to cross it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themselves, they cried aloud: "Alas! how sad is it that he, who was our king, and the companion of our toils; a king in the flower of his youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperities, should be taken off, and in a manner torne from our arms!"

At last the King recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered

ordered his confidents and physicians to come into his tent, " You see (said he) my friends, the sad extremity
 " to which fortune reduces me. Methinks I already
 " hear the sound of the enemy's arms, and see Darius
 " advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with
 " my evil * genius, when he wrote letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and contemptuous a strain; however,
 " he shall not obtain his desire, provided such a cure as
 " I want is attempted. The present condition of my
 " affairs will not admit either of slow remedies or fearful
 " physicians. A speedy death is more eligible to me
 " than a slow cure. In case the physicians think it is
 " in their power to do me any good, they are to know,
 " that I do not so much wish to live as to fight."

This sudden impatience of the king spread an universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand † talents the man who should kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child; raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose; which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but him only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any

* Darius, who imagined himself sure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they should chastise this young fool; and after clothing him in purple out of derision, should send him bound hand and foot to the court. — Friend them in Quint. Curt.
 † About 145,000l. sterling.

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any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This * letter gave him great uneasiness, for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolster, gives it Philip to read. At the same time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the physician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had shewed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprise; and throwing himself upon the king's bed—*Royal Sir*, says he, with a resolute tone of voice, *your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiscreet and unseasonable.* These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so taking Philip by the hand, *Be you yourself easy*, says he to him, *for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first for my recovery, and secondly for your own justification.*

In the mean time, the physick worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it, strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly

* *Ingentem animo solitudinem subjecerat, secreta aestimatione pen-
literæ incusserant; & quicquid in fabat. Q. Curt.*
utramque partem aut metus aut spes

hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physick to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable subjects; discoursing one moment about his mother and sisters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with hasty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physician's art, having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivifick virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much sooner than had been expected. Three days after he showed himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their eyes; so much the greatness of the danger had surpris'd and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks as a god who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate assistance of the gods; and as success always attended his designs, his rashness became glorious in him, and seemed to have something inexpressibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprises, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions. * Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the soldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity; his sharing in
toils

* Quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt. *Q. Curt.*

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toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid ; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflexion, made him equally beloved and respected by his foldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain security in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Affyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of foldiers in each army gave him ; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only incumber one another ; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows : — “ Possibly, Sir, you may “ not be pleased with my telling you the truth ; but in “ case I do not do it now, it will be too late hereafter. “ This mighty parade of war, this prodigious number of “ men which has drained all the East, might indeed be “ formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple shine “ in every part of your army, which is so prodigiously “ splendid, that those who have not seen it, could never “ form an idea of its magnificence. But the foldiers “ who

“ who compose the Macedonian army, terrible to be-
 “ hold, and bristling in every part with arms, do not
 “ amuse themselves with such idle show. Their only
 “ care is to discipline, in a regular manner, their bat-
 “ talions, and to cover themselves close with their buck-
 “ lers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry,
 “ which engages without flinching; and keeps so close in
 “ their ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a
 “ kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every single
 “ man among them, the officers as well as soldiers, are
 “ so well trained up, so attentive to the command of
 “ their leaders, that, whether they are to assemble under
 “ their standards, to turn to the right or left, to double
 “ their ranks, and face about to the enemy on all sides,
 “ at the least signal they make every motion and evolu-
 “ tion of the art of war. But that you may be per-
 “ suaded, these Macedonians are not invited hither*,
 “ from the hopes of gaining gold and silver; know,
 “ that this excellent discipline has subsisted hitherto by
 “ the sole aid and precepts of poverty. Are they hun-
 “ gry? they satisfy their appetite with any kind of food.
 “ Are they weary? they repose themselves on the bare
 “ ground, and in the day-time are always upon their
 “ feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry, and
 “ that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed
 “ cap-a-pee, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from
 “ slings, and with sticks burnt at the end? Such troops
 “ as are like themselves, will be able to check their ca-
 “ reer; and succours must be procured from their
 “ country, to oppose their bravery and experience.
 “ Send therefore thither all the useless gold and silver
 “ which I see here, and purchase formidable soldiers.”
 † Darius was naturally of a mild, tractable disposition;
 but good fortune will corrupt the most happy disposition.
 Few monarchs are resolute and courageous enough to
 withstand

* Et, ne auri argentique studio
 teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina
 paupertate magistra stetit. *Q. Curt.*

† Erat Dario mite ac tractabile

ingenium, nisi etiam suam natu-
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*Q. Curt. I suspect the par-
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withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them so well, to contradict and displease them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his guest, and gave him at that time the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom; "My avenger is at hand, the very man in opposition to whom I gave you counsel, and he will soon punish you for desisting it. * As for you, Darius, in whom sovereign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach posterity, that when once men abandon themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted in them by nature." Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sun-rise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set in crystal. The order they observed in their march was this.

First, they carried silver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horses,

* Tu quidem, licentia regni subito mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permiscere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere. Q. Curt.

† Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the first and greatest of their gods by that name.

horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the sun's horse; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called *The immortals*, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the Barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with furtouts (having sleeves to them) quite covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the † Doryphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a ‡ golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scymitar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara

* This was a title of dignity.
Possibly a great number of the king's
relations were in this body.

† These were guards who carried half a pike.
‡ Cidarius.

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a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses (four hundred in number) all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syfigambis, Darius's mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domesticks of both sexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of six hundred thousand men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himself only, fancied he was great, and rose in the idea he had formed of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same
VOL. VI. D judgment.

judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. ALEXANDER gains a famous victory over DARIUS, near the city of Issus. The consequences of that victory.

(c) **F**OR the clearer understanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three straits or passes. (d) The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, *Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day: GO, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING.* From hence he came to Solæ where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarsus, whence he arrived at

Malles,

(c) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. (d) Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4—12. Justin. l. xi. c. 9, & 10.

Malles, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Assyria two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he set out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and, after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming-up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse, it was spacious enough to contain his vastly-numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops; and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they should once be separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illustrious example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was vastly shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, "That he was far from ever de-
" signing to commit so horrible a crime; that should he

“ be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the
 “ least credit to his promises ; that it * was never known
 “ that a person had been put to death for giving impru-
 “ dent counsel : that no man would ever venture to give
 “ his opinion, if it were attended with such danger, a
 “ circumstance that would be of the most fatal conse-
 “ quence to princes.” He then thanked the Greeks
 for their zeal and good-will, and condescended to lay
 before them the reasons which prompted him not to
 follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander’s
 long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an
 effect of the terrour with which the approach of the
 Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a
 word of his indisposition) ; that fortune, merely for their
 sake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes,
 whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in
 case they should fall upon him immediately ; that they
 ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the
 enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would
 escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council,
 that the army should march in search of him ; the gods,
 says an (e) historian blinding the eyes of that prince, that
 he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for
 him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the
 Persian monarchy.

Darius, having sent his treasure with his most preci-
 ous moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a
 small convoy, marched the main body of his army
 towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus,
 which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and
 mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little
 prince his son, followed the army according to the cus-
 tom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the
 battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia
 (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not
 knowing

(e) Arrian.

* *Neminem stolidum consilium qui suaderent, si suavisse periculum
 capite luere debere ; defuturos enim esset.* 2, *Curt.*

knowing that Alexander was behind ; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria ; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army ; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns ; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them ; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of battle, a general ought not

to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them, but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle-array. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprise ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the Argyraspides †, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards

* *The ancients used to offer up distinguished by their silver shields, their sacrifices upon eminences.* but much more so by their great

† *This was a body of infantry, bravery.*

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wards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Theſſalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot, which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the Barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the * Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number.

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* *Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.*

These were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle-array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Poloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the Barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitalces (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also re-inforced that wing of his forces which he had opposed to the Barbarians on the mountains;

mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in, and sent the rest, as I observed, to re-inforce his right wing, which by this means extended farther than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late: for Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight. Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, "the victories they had formerly gained in Europe; the still recent glory of the battle of the Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had left behind them, all which they had subdued." He added, that "by one single victory they would possess themselves of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of the East would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many calamities which the Persians (those irreconcilable enemies to Greece) had brought upon them;" and set before them, "the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Platææ, and the many others by which they had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, "view the enemy's army, every part of which shone with gold and purple, and was not loaded so much with arms as with booty. That

“ they therefore should push forward (they who were “ men) and strip all those women of their ornaments; “ and exchange their mountains, covered perpetually with “ ice and snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of “ Persia.” The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: But when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right (wing) to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprise the Barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxatres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing

ing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right) were carrying on the advantage they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalised themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus lost his life, with an hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious

giou numbers of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence, and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this, the Thessalians seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in disorder, and crowded in great numbers through passes, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides, the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much fury, that they were as much shattered as the infantry, and lost as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thousand of the Greeks that were in Darius's service (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways.

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ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syfigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who also was his sister, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a son of his (a child) and some Persian ladies. For the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents* were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

(f) Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The † Persians, either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which frightened all the company; insomuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother
and

(f) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* About 440,000l. sterling.

† According to Quinrus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. And the former histo-

rian relates, that no more than an hundred and fifty horse, and three hundred foot, were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons, who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent: But their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he put them
"to death, they might be allowed to bury Darius after
"the manner of their country; and that when they had
"paid this last duty to their king, they should die contented." Leonatus answered, "That Darius was
"living; and that so far from giving them any offence,
"they should be treated as queens, and live in their former splendour." Syfigambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her from the ground.

The

* I
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The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. However, this prudent princess used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with such a modesty and reserve as she thought suited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as such as had been only related to him; and he made presents to all, according to their merit and station.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he sent a message to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his secrets to him, and * nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but even Hephæstion made so cautious and discreet an use of that liberty, that he seemed to take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: But some captive eunuchs showing them Alexander, Syfigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, *Dear mother*, says he, *you are not mistaken,*

* Libertatis quoque in eo ad- à rege permissum quàm vindica-
monendo non alius jus habebat; tum ab eo videretur. *Quint.*
quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis *Curtius.*

taken, for he also is an Alexander*: A fine expression, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but † fortune had not yet corrupted his soul. He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to resist her.

Syfigambis, strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. “Great prince (said she to him) what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I confess myself your captive. I ‡ know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill treatment.”

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius’s son in his arms. This little child, without discovering the least terrour, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæstion, said to him; *O that Darius had had some portion of this tender disposition!*

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors; and was superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius’s consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as he himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestick shape; and the

* O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum! *Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.*

† Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderatè & prudenter tulit; ad

ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. *Quint. Curt.*

‡ Et præteritæ fortunæ fastigium capio, & præsentis jujum pati possum. *Quint. Curt.*

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the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a sacred temple, and a sanctuary designed for the asylum of chastity, in which all the princesses lived so retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above-mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. (g) He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter written by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter the following words were read: *For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me.* We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first (h) Scipio on a like occasion. *Et juvenis, & cælebs, & victor.*

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

(g) Plut. in Alex.

(h) Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

SECT. VI. ALEXANDER *marches victorious into Syria, The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him. DARIUS writes a letter to ALEXANDER in the most haughty terms, which he answers in the same stile. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. ABDOLONYMUS is placed upon the throne against his will. ALEXANDER lays siege to Tyre, which at last, after having made a vigorous defence, is taken by storm. The fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.*

(J) **A**LEXANDER set out towards Syria, after having consecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's treasure was deposited. The governor of the city, betraying his sovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stores of Darius. But being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, so caused, by day-break, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burthens being freighted, threw, them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself, who was most terrified. On this occasion immense riches were seen scattered up and down the fields; all the gold and silver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their

(f) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332. Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

their drivers; in a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There also were taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general; insomuch that scarce one noble family in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also was found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. (k) We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in musick; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry way, to preside over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and such like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius,

(k) Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert or vast solitude. This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at * Sochus, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all possible haste to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he stiled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to ask any money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife, and children. That with regard to their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops: But that in case he were still capable of good counsel, he would advise him to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another: that they should henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander's oath."

This

* This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: " Alexander the king to Darius. The ancient Darius, whose name you assume, in former times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the coasts of the Hellespont, and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He next crossed the sea at the head of a powerful army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful number of barbarians, in order to fight us; and having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left, at his retiring, Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains. But who has not heard that Philip, my father, was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by your partizans, in hopes of a great reward? For it is customary with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and, when armed in the field, to set a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even you yourself, though at the head of a vast army, however promised a thousand talents to any person who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself, and consequently am not the aggressor. And indeed the gods, who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. However, though I ought not to grant any request you make, since you have not acted fairly in this war; nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a supplicating posture, I give you my word, that I will restore to you, without any ransom, your mother, your wife, and children. I will let you see, that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered*. If you are afraid of surrendering yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my honour, that you may do it without the least danger. But remember, when you

" next

* Et vincere, & consulere victis scio. *Q. Curt.*

“ next write to me, that you write not only to a king, “ but to your king.” Therfippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced ; but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffick, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke ; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city ; to these he offered the crown : But they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Haphæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword ; “ Continue (says he “ to them) in this way of thinking ; you, who before “ were sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse “ a diadem, than to accept it. However, name me “ some person of the royal family, who may remember, “ when he is king, that it was you set the crown on “ his head.” The brothers, observing that several through excessive ambition aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander’s favourites, declared that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended,

though at a great distance, from the royal line ; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to so extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then saluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus : “ You must now change your tatters for the dress I have brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible habit in which you have grown old ; * assume the sentiments of a prince ; but when you are seated on the throne, continue to preserve the virtue which made you worthy of it. And when you shall have ascended it, and by that means become the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your citizens, be sure never to forget the condition in which, or rather for which, you was elected.” Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold ; then after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus’s former abject state, could not forbear shewing their resentments upon that account in the king’s court. Alexander commanded the new elected prince to be sent for ; and after surveying him attentively a long time,

* *Cape Regis animum, & in eam omnium civium dominus, cave fortunam, qua dignus es, istam obliviscaris hujus statûs in quo accipis regnum, imò hercule, propter continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali folio residebis, vitæ necisque quem. Quint. Curt.*

time, spoke thus: "Thy * air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty."—"Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

(e) Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when

(e) Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. & 697. Q. Curt. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin l. vi. c. 10.

* Corporis, inquit, habitus, faciem eodem animo regnum + pati potest generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia regno meo. Nihil habenti, nihil detuleris. Tum ille: utinam, inquit, fuit. Q. Curt.

* The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal power as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than poverty: regnum pati.

when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too high an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts, and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; so that every part resounded with the noise of war-like preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp-irons, and such like instruments invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were essential reasons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was sensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea; nor pursue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his absence the maritime cities of Asia Minor, and increased their fleet, would make his country the seat of war during his being employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as

VOL. VI.

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the

* Four furlongs.

the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him; and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to dispossess the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would soon make himself master of the island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprize, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would discredit his own arms, would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the

wall,

wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few vessels he possessed lay at a great distance from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprises, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily drove into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones; and as the place where these works were carrying on, was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed

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by

* *Haud quaquam rudis tractandi militares animos. Q. Curt.*

by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were masters of the sea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's soldiers, " That it was a noble fight to see " those conquerors, whose names were so renowned all " the world over, carrying burthens on their backs like " so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them in a contemptuous tone of voice, " whether Alexander were greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to prevail over that god."

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last the bank appeared above water, began to show a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terrour the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in their ship-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. These boats were full of slingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows, because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones; and on mount Libanus there also were some Arabian peasants, who, meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the same number. These small losses obliged

obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every stratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-vessel, and filling it with brushhes, and such like dry materials, made a large inclosure near the prow, wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this inclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and such like unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their gallees. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel in question, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time the sailors, who were in it, leaped into the sea and swam away. Immediately the fire caught, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the sail yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increased the flame. But, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their gallees, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the bank; being either shot through with arrows, or burnt to death; whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, choosing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time the besieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its stakes, and burnt the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with so prodigious a speed, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced these still more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprize; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible, that it would not be possible for him either to complete the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the same time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, joined him with theirs, and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the

same

* *Cities of Phœnicia.*

same time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a re-inforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.

The king, whilst his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyfimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself * Phoenix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and scarce able to walk, he by that means was separated from his little army, accompanied only by very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous, that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a re-inforcement of four thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean,

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being

* It is well known that Phœnix was governor to Achilles.

being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a great appearance (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming-up of his left wing) they kept all their gallies in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallies, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew such branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one *remora* to the carrying on of the work: however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost

utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the besiegers arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other side of the bank facing Egypt; towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himself to attack the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth; the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because, as the soldiers stood in ships, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station these cross-wise, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But still, divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea, where it was not possible for them to do any further mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant

tant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other sail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid cross-wise, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on the space. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The sea rises by insensible degrees; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, rise to a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened, or break to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer gallies thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those obeyed whose business it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to tear their ships out of the waves. At last they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to save their country. And

indeed

* See vol. I, in the history of Carthage.

indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though frustrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precautions to send most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood in the city of Gela and Sicily. (*m*) The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ, had given it by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity in question from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down, it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to sacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed this cruelly-superstitious custom, a child would have been butchered on this occasion.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed up and down; and that he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this folly, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable dispatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also lost some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and scythes to joists or beams; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bows) they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or pensile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships.

ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning-sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention, for, the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go for Egypt: for, after having over-run Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: however, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly

tantly the Argyraspidæ mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a * partisan, as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his *insignia* and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over it, by the assistance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of bodyguards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temples, to implore the assistance of the

* A kind of halbert.

the gods; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death; in fine, others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants (those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples) and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms flew to the asylums. The temples were filled with such old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, saved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon) they, for that reason, carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit fifteen thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter, from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to six thousand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thousand men remaining after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules, according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

Alexander

(n) Alexander himself sacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized gymnastick exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforwards be surnamed *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a seven-months siege.

Thus were accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and they were completed by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and that the scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane histories which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty, the sacred scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But.

(n) A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* Or *Nebuchadnezzar*, as he is called in our version.

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But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little extract of the history of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

(c) Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason it is called by Isaiah, *The daughter of Sidon*. It soon surpassed its mother-city in extent, power and riches.

(p) It was besieged by Salmanasar, and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride.

(q) Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus*, or Ancient Tyre: but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the seventy years obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved fifteen thousand of their citizens (as was before observed) who, after their return, applied themselves to traffick, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong

(c) A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

(p) A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Ibid. l. ix. c. 14.

(q) A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572. Ibid. l. i. x. c. 12.

a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a second time to captivity, plunged it into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last, converted by the preaching of the gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to show.

(*r*) Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered as one of the most ancient and flourishing cities of the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the centre of all the trade in the universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendour, and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these, I say, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring mankind with a love for ease, vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness.

(*s*) A long, uninterrupted series of prosperities had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings: who sees every maritime power, either as

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(*r*) Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4—25.

(*s*) Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4. 25—32, 33.

her allies or dependents; and who made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, in the insulting words following. *(t) Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste.* *(u)* She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: *(x)* She likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

(y) This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandises and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

(z) By this so unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and

(t) Ezek. xxvii. 2. *(u)* Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10. *(x)* Joel iii. 2. 4. 7. Amos i. 9, 10. *(y)* Jerem. xlvii. 2. 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, and 19. xxvii. 27. 34. *(z)* Ezek. xxvi. 15. 18. and xxvii. 33. 36. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9.

and the guilt which had reduced her to it. (a) She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches, and splendour, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; (b) of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

(c) But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own greatness: (d) God foretels her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the West, near 400 years after the first. (e) Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. *Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets, and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land forces. (f) Tyre looks upon herself as impregnable, because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle:*

(a) Isa. xxiii. 3, 4. 7. 8. 12. (b) Ezek. xxviii. 2. (c) Isa. xxiii. 13.
 (d) Ibid. xxiii. 11, 12, 13. (e) 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2. 5.
 (f) Isa. xxiii. 10, 11. 13.

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girdle: nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. (g) *The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth.* (h) Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of sorrow and groans, by making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

(i) To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin, is not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to her. * This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both publick and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous

(g) Isa. xxiii. 9. (h) Ibid. ver. 1. 11. 14. (i) Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

* Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrians founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: They set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish: For your strength is laid waste, Isa. xxxiii. 13, 14.

pompous palaces, to make their names immortal ; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beasts to dwell in ; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled ?

(*k*) To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during three score and ten years. (*l*) But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall assume ; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and sooth their passions. To promote her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country ; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour, and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties ; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents ; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.

(*m*) Thus, in proportion as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffick, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.

(*n*) But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth,

(*k*) Isa. xxiii. 15.

(*m*) Isaiah xxiii. 17.

(*c*) Ibid. ver. 16.

(*n*) Ibid. ver. 18.

wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them, but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffick, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after: But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristick of chastity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffick is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffick, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECT. VII. DARIUS writes a second letter to ALEXANDER. *Journey of the latter to Jerusalem. The honour he pays to JADDUS the high-priest. He is shewn those prophecies of DANIEL which relate to himself. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuses them to the Samaritans. He besieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt, and subdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Lybia, where he visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and causes himself to be declared the son of that god. His return into Egypt.*

(o) **W**HILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thousand talents (thirty millions) as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops who were still under his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tygris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were as so many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he should not be always shut up between rocks and passes: That they ought both to appear in a plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of those offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. *And so would I*, replied Alexander, *were I Parmenio*. He therefore returned the following answer: "That he did not want the money Darius offered him: That it did not become Darius to offer a thing he no longer possessed,

(o) Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

“ or to pretend to distribute what he had entirely lost.
 “ That in case he was the only person who did not know
 “ which of them was superior, a battle would soon de-
 “ termine it. That he should not think to intimidate
 “ with rivers, a man who had crossed so many seas.
 “ That to whatsoever place he might find it proper to
 “ retire, Alexander would not fail to find him out.”
 Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an
 accommodation, and prepared again for war.

(*p*) From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem, firmly resolved to show it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in traffick, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood. (*q*) Galilea, Samaria, and Judea furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the same time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: He therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alledging, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living: a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with chearfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

VOL. VI. I observed

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3.

(*q*) Acts xiii. 20.

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VOL. VI: F I observed

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3.

(*q*) Acts xii. 20.

I observed * elsewhere, that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asaraddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called *Cuthaei*, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. (r) One of the sons of Jehoida the high priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately or depart the country. (s) Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governour of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia had forced into Phoenicia) leave to build on mount Garazim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem, and to appoint Manasses, his son-in-law, priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this raised the hatred of the Jews

(r) 2 Esd. xlii. 28.

(s) Joseph. Antiquit.

* VOL. II. of the *Assyrians*.

Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple, and refuged all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up publick prayers to implore his assistance, and made sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him, "To cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city; to set open all the gates, and go, cloathed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to fear any evil from that king, inasmuch as he would protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called * *Sapha*, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

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* The Hebrew word *Sapha* signifies to discover from far, as from a tower or centry-box.

The Syrians and Phœnicians, who were in his army, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was so great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest after an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the same manner as he had done Tyre; and flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they set out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the sight of the high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golded plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise; they could scarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not (replied Alexander) adore the high-priest, but God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war) as I was revolving the methods how to conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly; and assured me that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his hair, and his face, to be the same person whom

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he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, shewed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them, to show how conspicuously the most distant events are present to the Creator.

(*t*) God manifests by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them, in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; (*u*) that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces them, even to the very footsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-floor.

(*x*) God's design, in subjecting states to such astonishing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most high, the eternal king, the sovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleases, with supreme power, both in heaven and in earth.

(*y*) For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels being appointed as spectators and overseers of governments and kings, enquire into the use which these make of the authority that heaven entrusted them with, in quality of

(*t*) Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37. (*u*) Ibid. ver. 35. (*x*) Dan. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36. (*y*) Ibid. ver. 14.

his ministers; and when they abuse it, these * spirits, zealous for the glory of their sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride by casting them from the throne, and raising to it the most abject among mankind.

(2) God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shows Daniel four dreadful beasts who rise from a vast-sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image! For, empires rise out of noise and confusion: they subsist in blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.

(a) The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he shadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army, laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

(b) To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the

(2) Ibid. vii. 2, 3. (a) Ibid. ver. 4, 5, 6. (b) Dan. xi. 2.

* It was at the desire of these angels, that Nabuchodonosor was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.

the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyfes, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have rose to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.

(c) On the contrary, from among the Greeks in question, attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprizes; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: But at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendour and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or Barbarians shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

(d) In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the description in still stronger colours, the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be com-

F 4

posed

(c) Dan. ver. 3, 4. (d) Ibid. viii.

posed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia Minor, and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian sea; in fine, that they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of prodigious size; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immense marches in quest of the enemy, even in the very heart of his dominions; that it shall advance towards this enemy with such rapidity, that it will seem only to skim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have rose to its greatest height, Alexander, who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it; and then there will arise, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies, which go so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But

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we must peruse these prophecies in the scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I shall translate * agreeable to the original text.

(e) *In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high: But one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward: So that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.*

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: But these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

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The

(e) Dan. viii. 1.—8.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own version of the Bible.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world: and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost, empires established or overthrown; in all these, I say, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God breaks at every interval his silence, disperses the clouds which hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretel, a long series of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to subject all the nations of the universe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and, lastly, that of the Romans.

It is in the same view that he insists, very strongly, on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other destroyer, of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; prophecies, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and relates the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

These

These passages of scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious; and serve as so many keys to open to us the path to the secret methods by which he governs the world. These faint glimmerings of light should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial, and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their ancestors had left them, and to be exempt, the seventh year, from their usual tribute; and for this reason, because they were forbid, by their laws, to sow their fields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request, and, upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity; and said further, that in case any of them would be willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship, and to observe their respective customs: Upon which offer great numbers listed themselves.

He was scarce come from Jerusalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them also the honour to visit their temple. As these had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they imagined that they deserved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view

they made the pompous procession above-mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thousand men they had sent to serve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteously; but said, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then besought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every seventh year; upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, he also suspended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

(f) Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governour, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governour, the inhabitants, and soldiers, with a barbarity absolutely excusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: *Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent.* Betis, looking upon the

(f) Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

the king not only with a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence—*Observe*, said he, *I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else.* At last Alexander's * anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated on this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner, round the walls of Troy; † as if a man ought ever to pride himself for having imitated so ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had entrusted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or an hundred weight) of frankincense, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately atchieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him: *Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country*

* Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna, *Quint. Curt.*

† Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. *Horat.*

country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have. The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: *I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the gods.*

(g) As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled with all imaginable diligence to recognise him for their sovereign.

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated. For, how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians) so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted, nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels

(g) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.—681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7, & 8. Justin. l. xi. c. 11.

vessels as he wanted, burned the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governour of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made publick pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him; he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days journey

journey from Memphis. (b) Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues (i) broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεύς, *Jupiter*, * and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for an hero, he was determined to have some god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design, which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortresses, seasons, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourselves, have

(b) Plin. lib. v. c. 9.

(i) Forty furlongs.

* For this reason the city of Ammon, is called by the Greeks Egypt, which the scriptures † call Αἴγυπτος, or the city of Jupiter. No-Ammon (this city of Ham) or

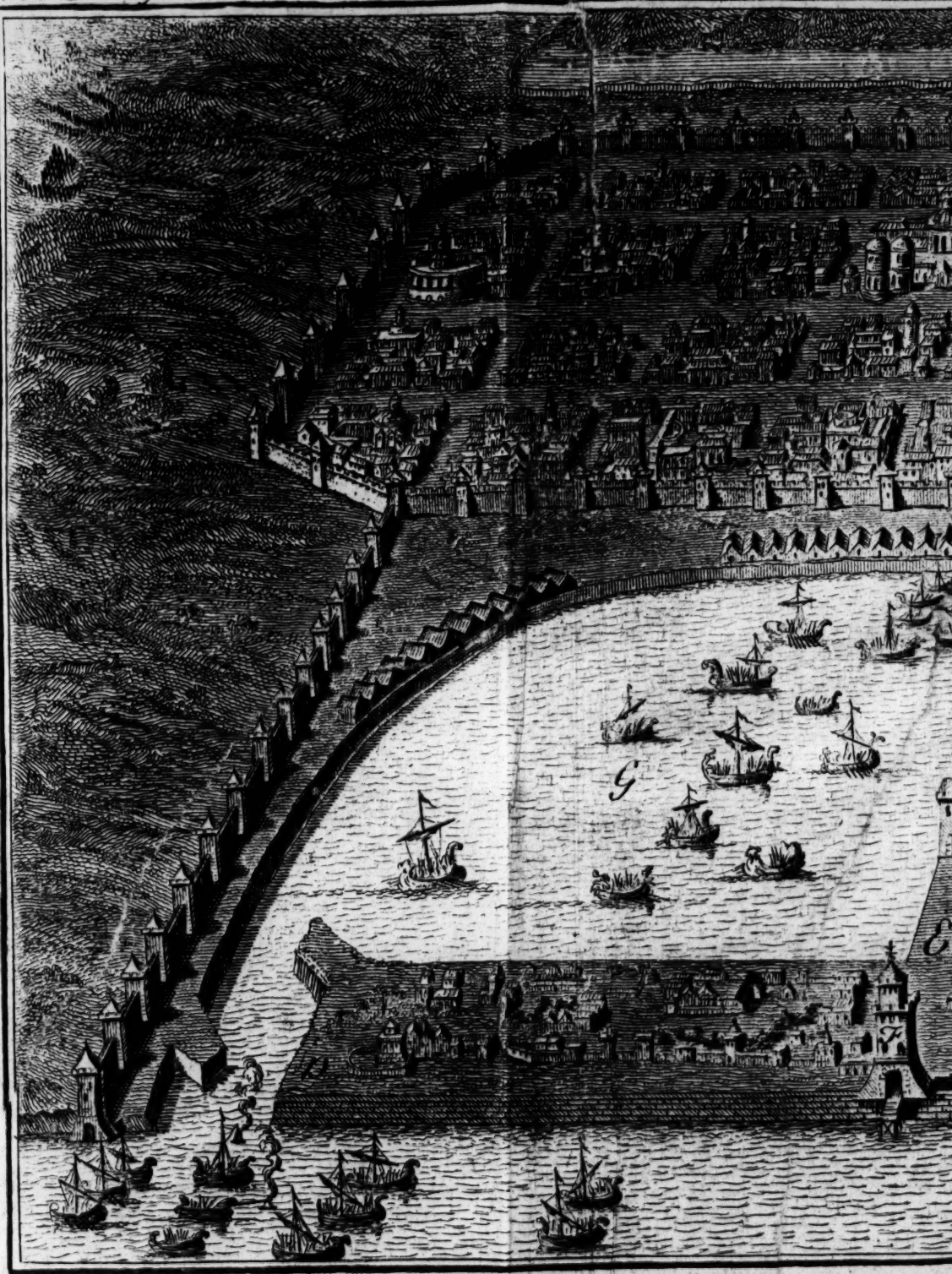
† Jerem. xlv. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

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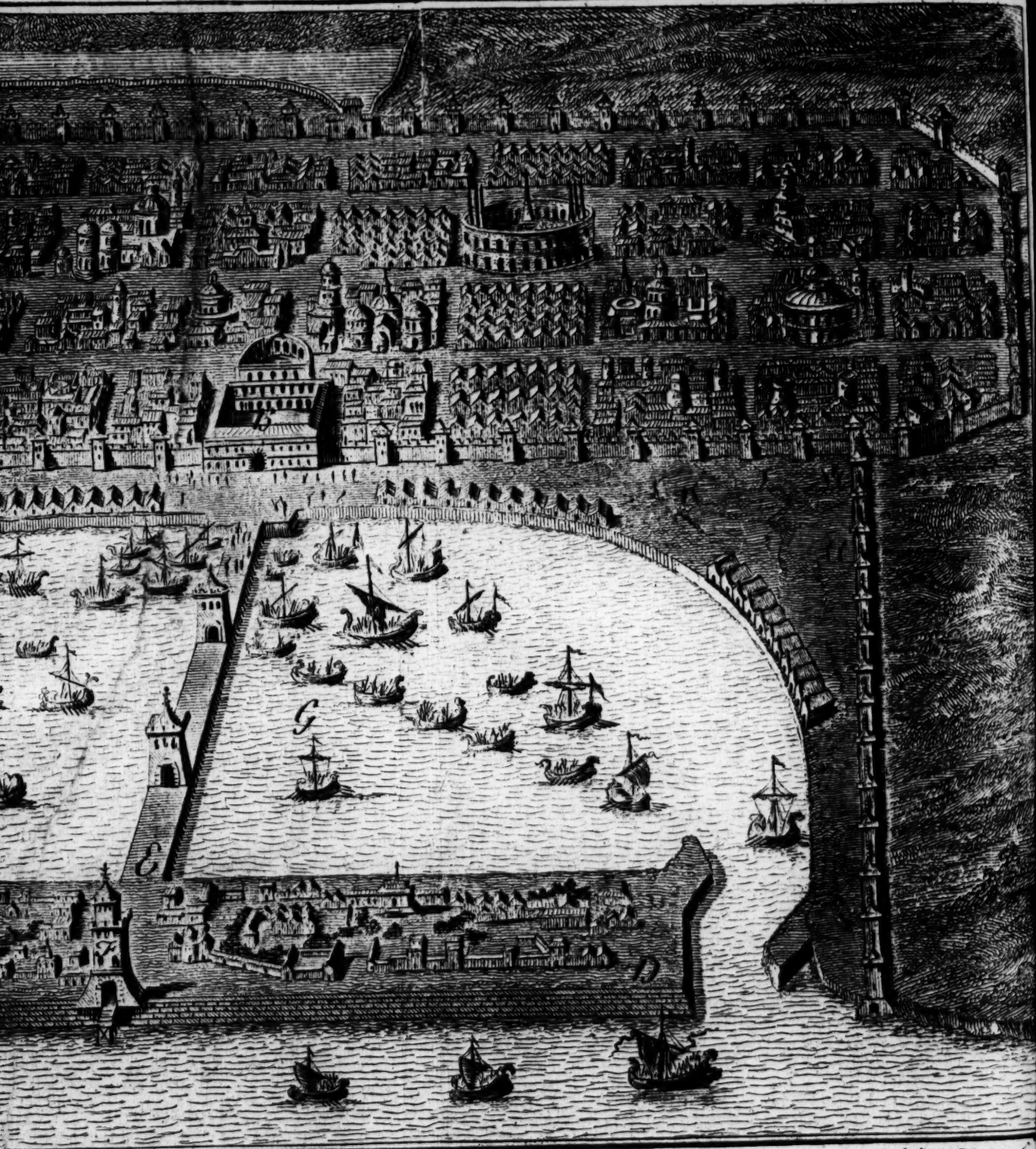
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A View of the City & Port of A.
A. The City B. The Kings Palace C. The Theatre adjoining it to the Town D. The Lighthouse E. The Port.



W. H. Jones fecit
 Port of Alexandria & Isle of Pharos.
 The adjoining to it D. The Island of Pharos E. The narrow way that
 leads to the Port.
 Published Feb. 1. 1754. by J. & P. Knapton

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have seen a famous * conqueror, who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of savage heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

(k) Alexander therefore sets out; and going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the sea, he coasts it; and, after having passed Canopus, he observes, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot he thought very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and publick squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red-sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffick of the east and west; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of sixteen hundred stadia, or fourscore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and most of the way was through sandy desarts. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived in the vast dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition.

(k) A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

* Charles XII. king of Sweden.

condition of dying almost with thirst ; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of sand, that are sometimes raised by the winds ; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of Cambyfes's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air became so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe ; when, on a sudden, whether by chance, say the historians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the sky was so completely overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army ; though they were still in prodigious want of water. But the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted ; and some had so violent a thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and caught the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these deserts, and upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched slowly ; and, at other times, advanced forward, to serve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A vastly-surprising circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarcely pierce it ; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the *water*, or *fountain of the sun*. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold ; but in the evening it grows warmer insensibly, and at midnight is boiling hot ; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the * navel, resembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he inquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had been so faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees, he always wrote in the style following: (1) ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: In answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in few words, by desiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilst Alexander prided himself in these chimeras, and tasted the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account;

(1) Varro apud A. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4.

* This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

account; but they paid every dear for that liberty, as the sequel will show. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being persuaded, in case this were possible, that he really was such, he himself would also pass for a god; till at last, Providence having acted that part, of which she was pleased to make him the instrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mareotis*, which was not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to the new city, part of which was new built. He took the best method possible to people it, inviting thither all sorts of persons, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. (m) He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians, whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I shall mention elsewhere.

(n) During Alexander's stay in Memphis, he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to entrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he invested one Doloaspes with the whole power of it; for being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its ancient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatsoever.

To

(m) Joseph. contra Appian.
Q. Curt. li. iv. c. 8.

(n) Arrian. l. iii. p. 108—110.

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To hasten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

SECT. VIII. ALEXANDER, *after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of DARIUS. At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes the several honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tygris, and comes up with DARIUS. The famous battle of Arbela.*

(o) **A**LEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence about spring-time, to march into the east against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

He

(o) Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 681.—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Justin. l. xi. c. 12—14.

(p) He was scarce set out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Syfigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princeſſes, who alſo were weeping; and near them the ſon of Darius, a child, * who was the more worthy of compaſſion, as he was leſs ſenſible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander conſoled them in ſo kind and tender a manner, as plainly ſhowed that he himſelf was deeply and ſincerely afflicted. He cauſed her funeral obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt ſplendour and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who ſuperintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princeſſes, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his conſort's death. The Perſian monarch was ſeiſed with the moſt violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he ſuppoſed ſhe would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occaſion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always ſhown her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing theſe words, was fired with ſuſpicions of ſo horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aſide, he ſpoke to him as follows. " If thou doſt ſtill acknowledge Darius for thy lord and ſovereign, tell me, by the reſpect and veneration thou oweſt to that great ſplendour of † Mithres, which enlightens us, and to this hand which the king ſtretcheth out to thee; tell me, I ſay, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not bewail the leaſt of her evils; and whether, as ſhe fell into the hands of a young monarch, ſhe did not firſt loſe her honour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing

(o) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

* Ob id ipſum miſerabilis, quod ima ex parte ad ipſum redundantem. Q. Curt.

† The Perſians worſhipped the ſun under the name of Mithres, and the moon under that of Mithra.

throwing himself at Darius's feet, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her death; and not deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superiour to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what publick fame had related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings and empires, grant that, after having raised the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may transmit it to my descendants with the same lustre in which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which Alexander has shown in my calamity to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, or that it must necessarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay cross the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unless here signed
the

the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Iffus, and marched it towards Nineveh : his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse ; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province ; all whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass : but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the east, this is the most rapid ; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but those also drag along great stones ; so that it is named Tygris, by reason of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander founded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers ; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water ; because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more fatigued ; for these being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burthens. At the same time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burthens of several ; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to saye nothing
but

but their arms ; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses ; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, recovering however but a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer ; that is, who made ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might easily have defeated them, had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus in sight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore ; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and straits quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This * circumstance may lessen our surprise at that excess of boldness, which was his peculiar characteristick, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greatest dangers ; since, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow ; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and, as it were, tinged with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with sufficient disquietude, they were first struck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, “ That heaven displayed the marks of
“ its anger ; and that they were dragged against the will

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“ of

* Audaciæ quoque, qua maximè nunquam in discrimen venit, æviguit, ratio minui potest ; quia temerè fecisset. *Q. Curt.*

“ of it, to the extremities of the earth ; that rivers opposed their passage ; that the stars refused to lend their usual light ; and that they could now see nothing but deserts and solitudes ; that merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many thousands shed their blood ; and that for a man who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a god.”

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers as were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon ; but, without entering into physical enquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the side of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians ; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprising ascendancy over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconsistent soever they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the mountains called *Gordyan*. At day-break the scouts whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him ; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse that were going upon discoveries, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was

now

now but an hundred and fifty * stadia from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, some letters had been intercepted, by which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humility towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situated between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, " between persons who make war against each other, " are superfluous; and that, in case I have behaved " with clemency towards his family, it was for my own " sake, and not for his; in consequence of my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack " either

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* Seven or eight leagues.

“ either prisoners or women, and turn my rage against
 “ such only as are armed for the fight. Did Darius sue
 “ for peace in a sincere view, I then would debate on
 “ what is to be done ; but since he still continues, by
 “ letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray
 “ me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am
 “ determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour ;
 “ and that not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an as-
 “ sassin. It, indeed, becomes him, to offer to yield up
 “ to me what I am already possessed of ! Would he be
 “ satisfied with ranking himself as second to me, without
 “ pretending to be my equal, I might possibly then hear
 “ him. Tell him, that the world will not permit two
 “ suns, nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore choose
 “ either to surrender to-day, or fight me to-morrow,
 “ and not flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining
 “ better success than he has hitherto had.” Darius’s
 proposals are certainly not reasonable ; but then, is Alex-
 ander’s much more so ? in the former we behold a prince,
 who is not yet sensible of his own weakness, or, at least,
 who cannot prevail with himself to own it ; and in the
 latter, we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good
 fortune, and carrying his pride to such an excess of
 folly, as is not to be paralleled : *The world will not per-
 mit two suns, nor two sovereigns.* If this be greatness,
 and not pride, I do not know what can ever deserve the
 latter name. The ambassadors having leave to depart,
 returned back, and told Darius, that he must prepare
 for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village
 called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a
 considerable distance from Arbela. He had before
 levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of
 battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have
 full room to move in ; recollecting, that his fighting in
 the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there.
 At the same time, he had prepared * crows feet to
 annoy the enemy’s horse,

Alexander,

* *Crows feet is an instrument which the cavalry is to march, in
 composed of iron spikes. Several order that they may run into the
 of these are laid in fields through horses feet.*

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which he had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which that battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them, that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces; and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said, that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the

dark; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked at unawares, because he had not entrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always to consult soothsayers; observing, very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtless did to prevent his army from being seized with dread, at the sight of the formidable army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom: so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which, they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and

sweet

* We must read in Plutarch φόβου instead of φιλίας.

sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: *How could it be possible*, said Alexander, *for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?* Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at * least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse: But the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not † of soldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the center of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of

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opposing

* According to several historians it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

† Nomina verius quàm auxilia. 2. Curt.

opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them, at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bow-men, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins, and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shown the several places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas, but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he re-inforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry*. Besides the
advantage

* Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge.

advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves, and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed: However, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory) he showed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing) had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself,

himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander, having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were on his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: but, perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian, and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and, re-inforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Syfigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed); that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty.

But

But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and, being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with so much humanity, she did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a single word; but in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had dispatched a messenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things (said the prince) let him not weaken his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only restore us our own possessions, but also give those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the orders which had been given, and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually pursuing Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing; shuddering with rage to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and com-

plaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occasion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that Monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden: However, like an able commander, who seizes every advantage, and who employs his utmost endeavours to inspire his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terrour which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant, and overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and

and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander (*q*) was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the same time, two years before, that the battle of Issus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

SECT. IX. ALEXANDER *possesses himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persopolis; and finds immense riches in those cities. In the heat of drinking he sets fire to the palace of Persopolis.*

(*r*) ALEXANDER's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalised themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders

(*q*) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

(*r*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

* The month, called by the Greeks Boedromion, answers partly to our month of October.

orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. (s) He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though so many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilst war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and sailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself, says the same author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propose them to posterity, as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, * “ That life was not so dear to him, as to
 “ make him desire to preserve it by the destruction of so
 “ many thousands of his subjects and faithful allies, who,
 “ by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of
 “ the enemy; that they had as much right to pass over
 “ this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it
 “ ought to be as open to them.” After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian

(s) Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. vii. c. 47.

* Non ita se salutis suæ velle con- objiciat: debere & aliis fugæ viam præ-
 sultum, ut tot millia sociorum hosti tere, quæ patuerit sibi. Justin.

Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; beside, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease; not to mention that the soil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious moveables, with four thousand talents (about 775,000*l.* and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out so vast a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most, was, a great gulph, whence streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians, being desirous of showing the king the strength and subtilty of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that street which went up to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where
those

those drops were fallen (for it was night;) and the drops which were nighest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end; by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleased with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in besieging a city of such importance, and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of great quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoaked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians: it was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their kings to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and

seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horseman six *minæ*, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horseman two *minæ*, (above five pounds;) to every Macedonian foot soldier two *minæ*; and to every one of the rest two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, pursuant to the advice of the Magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They presented him with astronomical observations taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Calisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.

The king resided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses; nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or show the least reserve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal them, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon,

* Porphy. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Cælo.

Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been scarce able to complete their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were re-inforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Amyntas brought six thousand foot and five hundred Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater; and six hundred Thracian horses, with three thousand five hundred foot of the same nation; besides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near four hundred horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. The youths in question waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: and these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men; whence those officers were called *Chiliarchi*. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, consisting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves; because they might perceive very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumstance in which soldiers can

never

never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without showing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas, before the horsemen of every nation used to fight under his own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be seen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon account of their exquisite taste (*m*). The kings of Persia never drank of any other; and, whithersoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in silver vases. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants which Darius had sent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immense sums out of the treasury, with fifty thousand * talents of silver in ore and ingots, besides moveables, and a thousand other things.

cf.

(*m*) Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

* About seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.

of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found * five thousand quintals of Hermione † purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre was no ways diminished.

Here likewise was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in ‡ Arrian's time.

The king being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Susa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Syfigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had
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* The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was sold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.

† Hermiane was a city of Argo-

lis, where the best purple was dyed.

‡ What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander, in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.

been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes shewed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased at these gifts; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that Syfigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which you see me clothed, was not only a gift of my sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the custom of my country misled me; and do not consider that as an insult, which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I knew interfered with your manners and customs. I was told, that among the Persians it is a sort of crime for a son to seat himself in his mother's presence, without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this particular; and that I never sat down, till you had first laid your commands upon me to do so. And every time that you was going to fall prostrate before me, I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the highest testimony of the veneration I have for you, I always called you by the tender name of mother, though this belongs properly to Olympias only, to whom I owe my birth."

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they showed their parents. The reader, doubtless remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and
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the most exalted pitch to which fortune had raised him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, *viz.* of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. * History informs us here, that among the Persians, a son never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution?

Secondly, I discover, in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in scripture to this purpose concerning Rebecca, Rachael, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing themselves water from springs; and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. † Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sister made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princesses, who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestick affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women, and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the sex to undertake,

* * Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nefas esse confidere, nisi cum illa permisit. *Q. Curt.*

† Mater, hanc vestem, quam indutus sum, sororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. *Q. Curt.*

undertake, to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion for publick shows, and a frantick love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgement, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syfigambis who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Pasi Tigris. * Having crossed it with nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a re-inforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uxii*. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and, for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Syfigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those

* *This river differs from the Tigris.*

quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. *Q. Curt.*

† *Haud sanè temporum homo;*

those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty ; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges ; would not suffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Sygambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor ?

The *Uxii* being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain ; whilst himself, at the head of his light armed-troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all sides, and posted the Barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded ; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself not only stopped at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner surrendered himself to Alexander, with a promise to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendance of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery, that their feet would scarce stand upon them ; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together,

together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and seized the pass, which till then had resisted his attacks; and, at the same time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Coenus, and Polyperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune, which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governour of Persopolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the

* Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and
VOL. VI. H easy.

* This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harrassed by the length and swiftness of this march, and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears: after which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them, that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on that occasion. "How will it be possible (said some of them) for us
"to appear publickly before all Greece, in the dreadful
"condition to which we are reduced; a condition still
"more shameful than dissatisfactory? The best way to
"bear misery is to conceal it; and no country is so sweet
"to the wretched, as solitude, and an oblivion of their
"past calamities. Besides, how will it be possible for
"us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great
"distance from Europe, banished to the most remote
"parts of the east, worn out with age, and most of our
"limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues,
"which have even wearied a triumphant army? The
"only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our mi-
"sery, and to end our days among those, who are al-
"ready

“ ready so accustomed to our misfortunes.” Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, “ That the gods offered them “ what they should not even have dared to wish, viz. “ their country, their wives, their children, and all those “ things for whose sake men are fond of life, and despite “ death. That they had long enough borne the sad “ yoke of slavery ; and that nothing happier could present “ itself than their being indulged the bliss of going at last “ to breathe their native air, to resume their ancient manners, laws, and sacrifices, and to die in presence of their “ wives and children.”

However, the former opinion prevailed ; and accordingly they besought the king to permit them to continue in a country where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented each of them * three thousand drachmas ; five men’s suits of clothes, and the same number for women ; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to sow them. He commanded the governour of the province not to suffer them to be molested in any manner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs, of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them ; but then he restored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate !

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, represented to them, “ That no “ city in the world had ever been more fatal to the “ Greeks than Persopolis, the ancient residence of the “ Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire. “ For that it was from thence all those mighty armies “ poured, which had overflowed Greece ; and whence “ Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the fire- “ brand of the most accursed war, which had laid waste

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“ all

* About one hundred fifty pounds.

“ all Europe ; and therefore that it was incumbent on them to revenge the manes of their ancestors.” It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled separately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities ; but all this was a trifle compared to the treasures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a storehouse, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps, not to mention the clothes and furniture of inestimable value ; for this was the seat of luxury. There was found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents *, which were designed to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious sum he added † six thousand talents, taken from Pesagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander’s stay in Persepolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it masked, was Thais the courtesan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character) she said, with a gay tone of voice, “ That it would be matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted (masked as she then was, and in order to end this festival nobly) to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned Athens ;

“ and

* About eighteen millions sterling.

† About nine hundred thousand pounds.

“ and set it on fire with her own hand, in order that it
“ might be said in all parts of the world, that the wo-
“ men, who had followed Alexander in his expedition to
“ Asia, had taken much better vengeance of the Persians,
“ for the many calamities they had brought upon the
“ Grecians, than all the generals who had fought for
“ them both by sea and land.” All the guests applauded
the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table
(his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch
in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty
exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into
loud acclamations, and afterwards, singing and dancing,
they surround the palace. All the rest of the Macedo-
nians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers,
and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was
sorry, not long after, for what he had done; and there-
upon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too
late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great successes
increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied
the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity
and kindness, and so obliging a carriage, as very much
enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a
particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young
lords, who served under him as guards. Olympias his
mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as fol-
lows: “ I do not blame you (said she) for being be-
“ neficent towards your friends, for that is acting like a
“ king: but then a medium ought to be observed in your
“ magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and
“ by heaping riches on them, you give them an oppor-
“ tunity of making a great number of friends, of all
“ whom you deprive yourself.” As she often wrote the
same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret,
and did not show them to any person; but happening to
open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion
drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which
the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but tak-
ing only his ring from his finger, he put the seal of it

upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account, but he always submitted to her ill humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, *Antipater does not know that one single tear shed by a mother, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as this.* A behaviour like this, and such an answer, show, at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

SECT. X. *DARIUS leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by BESSUS, governour of Bactria. The latter, upon ALEXANDER's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered DARIUS with wounds, who expires a few moments before ALEXANDER's arrival. He sends his corpse to SYSIGAMBIS.*

(1) **A**LEXANDER, after he had taken Persepolis and Pasagarda, was resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governour of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among so many thousand men who composed
" my

(1) Diad. l. xvii. p. 540—546, Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plutarch Alex. p. 689, Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8—14. J. R. l. xi. c. 15.

" my army, you only have not abandoned me during the
 " whole course of my ill fortune; and in a little time,
 " nothing but your fidelity and constancy will be able to
 " make me fancy myself a king. Deserters and traitors
 " now govern in my cities; not that they are thought
 " worthy of the honour bestowed on them, but rewards
 " are given them only in the view of tempting you, and
 " to stagger your perseverance. You still chose to follow
 " my fortune rather than that of the conqueror, for
 " which you certainly have merited a recompence from
 " the gods; and I do not doubt but they will prove bene-
 " ficent towards you, in case that power is denied me.
 " With such soldiers and officers I would brave, without
 " the least dread, the enemy, how formidable soever he
 " may be. What! would any one have me surrender
 " myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect
 " from him, as a reward of my baseness and meanness
 " of spirit, the government of some province which he
 " may condescend to leave me? No—It never shall be
 " in the power of any man, either to take away, or fix
 " upon my head the diadem I wear; the same hour shall
 " put a period to my reign and life. If you have all the
 " same courage and resolution, which I can no ways
 " doubt, I assure myself that you shall retain your liberty,
 " and not be exposed to the pride and insults of the Ma-
 " cedonians. You have in your hands the means either
 " to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having
 ended this speech, the whole body of soldiers replied
 with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whither-
 soever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their
 blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabar-
 zanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of
 the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bac-
 trians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that
 was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him
 in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them
 had a great number of soldiers under his command.
 Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to

secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was just ready to fall; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made this answer: "That it
 " would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by,
 " than to condemn them. That he would suffer the
 " worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather
 " than seek for security among strangers, how faithful
 " and affectionate soever he might believe them: and
 " that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian
 " soldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counsel; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to (u) Strabo, these treasures amounted to an hundred and eighty thousand talents (about twenty-seven millions sterling); and, according to (x) Justin, to ten talents more, (about fifteen hundred thousand pounds). He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the *Cadusians*, with
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(u) Strab. l. xv. p. 741.

(x) Justin. l. xii. c. 1.

the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who stayed behind in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian straits; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, stayed there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian straits, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch. Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were seized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting, as for putting in execution the detestable act above-mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with such prodigious terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requested him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy, but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had suffered; and beseeching Alexander to do him justice,

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* This is the city mentioned in Tobit iii. 7.

he refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they separated, in order to leave different footsteps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horse-men; and, as the Barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found in a solitude, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said, "That in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt, though he had never obliged him. That he gave him a multitude of thanks for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored them to their former splendour. That he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe. That he thought he need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings."

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give him, (said he) thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last. Alexander coming up a

moment

moment after, and seeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to Syfigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and to be entombed with his ancestors.

Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacifick prince; his reign had been un sullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise, from the perpetual war he had carried on against Alexander all the time he had sat upon the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyfes, Smerdis Magus, Darius son of Hytaspis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus; Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus.

SECT. XI. *Vices which first caused the declension, and at last the ruin of the Persian empire.*

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the æra, but not as the sole cause of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above-mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this declension was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

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(2) A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, softness and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time: but, after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish delights with art and delicacy: and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world, being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he shewed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished

plished prince, his example authorised them to abandon themselves to that gust without reserve.

He also spread this evil by his obliging judges, officers, and governours of provinces, to appear in splendour before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: and, on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorised publicly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those publick schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces: their young men being brought up in splendour and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly opposite to those of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness; so that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was, almost at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the
principle

principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased every reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their successors became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy: they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed, on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks in their service: that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who fought against Alexander.

Instead of choosing for the command of their forces officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domesticks, eunuchs, and women; such an assemblage, formed merely for vain show and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it slow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of subsisting long in a country, and of completing great enterprises in sight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themselves to pleasures, and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence,

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and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to slaves, and to flattering courtiers, whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures; and to entrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another character of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises, and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as persuaded them that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wise and good government; the principles by which men judge of solid merit, and are capable of choosing persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power merely to protect their subjects and make them happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his subjects, and the publick source of the felicity of so vast an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and painful an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them
careless

careless, and averse to business of every kind; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotick power, and an over-great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their councils, to any expression delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves, and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domesticks, and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendour of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unwieldy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; so that this colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

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SECT. XII. *Lacedæmonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. ANTIPATER marches out upon this occasion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which AGIS is killed. ALEXANDER marches against BESSUS. THALESTRIS, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a far country. ALEXANDER, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march towards BESSUS. A pretended conspiracy of PHILOTAS against the king. He, and PARMENIO his father, are put to death. ALEXANDER subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bactriana, whither BESSUS is brought to him.*

(2) **W**HILST things passed in Asia, as we have seen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately dispatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle. The Lacedæmonian army consisted of no more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalise themselves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with

(2) A. M. 3675. Ant. C. J. 329. Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mien, and still more so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers laying him upon his shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp his courage, for having seized an advantageous post where they kept close in their ranks, they resisted with great vigour, the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, seeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.

In this engagement upwards of three thousand Lacedæmonians lost their lives, and a thousand Macedonians at most; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war, to declare themselves. Antipater immediately sent the news of this success to Alexander: but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms; in such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was so very great, that he looked upon the glory which
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another person obtained, as a diminution of his own. And, * indeed he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. Antipater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might tell him the ill success they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he punished.

(a) Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions of all sorts to be brought thither.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmost dispatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. Alexander was soon informed of this, when terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this sudden motion was a mere folly, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences; and assured him, that

(a) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 2—4.

* Alexander hostes vinci voluerat; gloriæ existimans, quicquid cecisset Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, suæ demptum alienæ. Q. Curt.

that the soldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would address himself to them in tender expressions. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was, his having disbanded some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; so that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the following speech. "I am not surpris'd, O soldiers, if, after the mighty things we have hitherto performed, you should be satiated with glory, and have no other views but ease and repose. I will not now enumerate the various nations we have conquered. We have subdued more provinces than others have cities. Could I persuade myself, that our conquests were well secured, over nations who were so soon overcome, I would think as you do (for I will not dissemble my thoughts) and would make all the haste imaginable to revisit my household-gods, my mother, my sisters, and my subjects, and enjoy in the midst of my country the glory I have acquired in concert with you. But this glory will all vanish very soon, if we do not put the last hand to the work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, accus'd to other sovereigns, and who have no manner of similitude to us either in their religion, manners, or language, were intirely subdued the moment they were conquered; and that they will not take up arms, in case we return back with so much precipitation? What will become of the rest who still remain unconquered? How! shall we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of courage! But that which touches me much more; shall we suffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go unpunished? Can you bear to see the sceptre of Darius in the sanguinary hands of that monster, who, after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, at last assassinated his sovereign, in order to deprive us of the glory of saving him? As for myself, I shall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch hanging on a
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“ gibbet, there to pay, to all kings and nations of the
 “ earth, the just punishment due to his execrable crime.
 “ I do not know whether I am mistaken ; but methinks
 “ I read his sentence of death in your countenances ;
 “ and that the anger which sparkles in your eyes, de-
 “ clares you will soon imbrue your hands in that traitor’s
 “ blood.”

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed ; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how desponding a condition soever they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the *Mardi*, the *Arii*, the *Drangæ*, the *Arachosii*, and the several other nations, into which his army marched, with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet shadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

(b) Nabarzanes, one of Bessus’s accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania ; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch,

eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an ascendancy over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their bosom being uncovered on the left side, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and so descended no farther than the knee. They preserved their right breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * *Amazons*.

Thalestris † looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom,

* *This is a Greek word signifying, without breasts.*

† *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus bar-*

basis in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est.
Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors, as entirely fabulous.

(c) Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and debauch the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired ; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He now was no longer the same man. Though he was invincible, with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality ; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasures, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental musick, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in publick. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien that she was not of vulgar birth ; and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son ; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced,

not

not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

This prince was naturally of so tender and humane a disposition, as made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. (*d*) A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's use; the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander, seeing him just sinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to ease himself, cried out, *Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own.*

(*e*) Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a small body of horse, when he pursued Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst, occasioned by the raging heat (the sun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to present him with it: Alexander asking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, *We were going to carry it to our children; but do not let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but saved, we shall get children enough, in case we should lose these.* At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallow it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, *There is not enough for my whole company; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest be thirstier, and they will quite die away.* The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, in-

treated

(*d*) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

(*e*) Ibid.

treated him, with shouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not spare them in any manner; that now they were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greatest victories and conquests. Had Alexander always cherished them, he would justly have merited the title of *Great*; but a too glorious and uninterrupted series of prosperity, which is too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: for now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with three hundred and sixty concubines, (the same number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grantees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently express themselves in the following terms: "That they had lost more by victory

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“than they had gained: that as the Macedonians had
 “thus assumed the manners and customs of foreigners,
 “they might properly be said to be conquered. That
 “therefore the only benefit they should reap from
 “their long absence, would be, to return back into
 “their country in the habit of Barbarians; that Alex-
 “ander was ashamed of, and despised them; that he
 “chose to resemble the vanquished rather than the victo-
 “rious; and that he, who before had been king of
 “Macedonia, was now become one of Darius’s lieute-
 “nants.”

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence: but * slavery, though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an useless train of baggage, that he could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary); then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage, than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness; and, being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched
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* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. Q. Curt.

towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have perished.

(f) Being arrived among the *Drangæ*, a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneasiness; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason; and the motive of it was, some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his execrable design to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whispered it to Philotas, earnestly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and that the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be sure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing, that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by any other person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from

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Cebalinus

(f) Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11. & l. vii. c. 1, 2. Athian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

Cebalinus himself, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter guessing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite speechless; so that, after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, and speaking to him (having first commanded every one to withdraw) he asked whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had whispered this, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly showed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing so long a design of so black a nature: upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unseasonably, the king, should he communicate a design, which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say, whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished
favour

favour he enjoyed, by an air of sweetness and humanity; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, * *My son, make thyself less*. The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

(g) His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigonæ by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own: "What would Philip (said he) have been, had it not been for Parmenio? and what would Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? what would become of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, should we undertake to expose this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigonæ herself made oath, that such words had been spoken. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, nor so much as once let drop the least word, which showed his resentment upon that occasion, whenever he was most intoxicated with liquor; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime

I 3

(g) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. ii. p. 339.

* Ω παῖ, χείρων μοι γένη.

crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council composed of his chief confidants. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehensions he might justly be under, both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt to work any change in a heart, which could be corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime; and from Parmenio, his father, who, said he, will never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his son's life to the king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are so great, that they become a burthen to those on whom they are conferred, for which reason they do all in their power to erase them from their memory. And further, who can assure us, that both father and son are not engaged in the conspiracy? when a prince's life is in danger, every thing is of importance; and all things, even to the slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we conceive it possible, that a favourite, on whom his sovereign has bestowed the most shining marks of his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed, upon his being told an affair of such mighty importance? But we are told, that this design was communicated by young people, who deserved very little credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in suspense two days, as if he really believed what they told him, and still promised them that he would reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not see, that he did this merely to prevent their having access by another way to his majesty? Sir (continued he) it is necessary, for your own sake and that of the state, for us to put Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth an account of this plot, and the several persons who are his accomplices in it."

This

This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep; when starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, *Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness.* After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, being about six thousand. It was a very ancient custom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do so; so that the prince had no power on these occasions, unless a sanction were given to it by the consent of one of these bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to * persuasion, before he employed his authority.

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech: "I narrowly escaped, O soldiers, " being torn from you, by the treachery of a small number of wretches; but by the providence and mercy of " the gods, I now again appear before you alive: and I " protest to you, that nothing encourages me more to " proceed against the traitors, than the sight of this assembly,"

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* Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. *Q. Curt.*

" bly, whose lives are much dearer to me than my own;
 " for I desire to live for your sakes only; and the greatest
 " happiness I should find in living (not to say the only
 " one) would be the pleasure I shall receive, in having it
 " once in my power to reward the services of so many
 " brave men, to whom I owe all things," Here he was
 interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all
 burst into tears. " Alas! how will you behave, when I
 " shall name the persons who formed so execrable an at-
 " tempt? I myself cannot think of it without shudder-
 " ing. They, on whom I have been most lavish of my
 " kindnesses; on whom I had bestowed the greatest
 " marks of friendship; on whom I had put my whole
 " confidence, and in whose breasts I lodged my greatest
 " secrets——Parmenio and Philotas." At these names,
 all the soldiers gazed one upon the other not daring to be-
 lieve their eyes or ears, nor any thing they saw or heard.
 Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were sent
 for, who made the several depositions of what they knew.
 But as not one of them charged Philotas with engag-
 ing in the plot, the whole assembly, being seised with a
 trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, con-
 tinued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind
 him, and his head covered with a coarse, worn-out piece
 of cloth. How shocking a sight was this! Lost to him-
 self, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the
 tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms
 of the man who held him. As the standers by wiped off
 the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his
 spirits and his voice, by insensible degrees, he seemed de-
 sirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he
 should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew.
 Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not
 one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the
 rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot.
 Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any
 of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in
 it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would
 certainly

certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to dispatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution? which he might very easily have done. Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing, on a sudden, himself to Alexander, as if he had been present, "O king (says he,) "wheresoever you may be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that passed from behind a curtain) "if I have "committed a fault in not acquainting you with what I "heard, I confessed it to you and you pardoned me. "You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of this; and "you did me the honour to admit me at your table. If "you believed me, I am innocent, if you pardoned me, I "am cleared: I refer all this to your own judgement. "What new crime have I committed since? I was "in a deep sleep when my enemies waked me, and "loaded me with chains. Is it natural for a man, who "is conscious that he is guilty of the most horrid of all "crimes, to be thus easy and undisturbed? The innocence of my own conscience and the promise your majesty made me, gave my soul this calm. Do not let the "envy of my enemies prevail over your clemency and "justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty, named several

accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in a full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death, Lyncestes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and kept three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the son to death, Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to an hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together, with a great number of attendants to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he asked him what the king

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was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said as follows: "The king is preparing to march against the *Arachosii*. How glorious a prince is this, who will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! However, he ought to be a little tender of himself, now he has acquired so much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, seemed pleased with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a slight suspicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

(b) Alexander was sensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to separate, from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command

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of

(b) A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. Arrian. l. iii. p. 143. 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3.—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552. 554.

of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Aracholia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus) where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and Mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapsaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about seven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they crossed the river in this manner; those who went over first, drawing up in battle-

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array, whilst their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in six days.

Whilst these things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confident, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the *Branchidae*. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been entrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the *Branchidae*, because of the treachery of their ancestors. He then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city; and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they

they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantick a cruelty.

A little after Bessus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or the Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said these words: "I have, at last, revenged
 " both you and Darius, my kings and masters. I bring
 " you a wretch who assassinated his sovereign, and who
 " is now treated in the same manner as himself gave the
 " first example of. Alas! why cannot Darius himself
 " see this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus, and spoke thus: "Thou surely must have been inspired with the
 " rage and fury of a tyger, otherwise thou wouldest not
 " have dared to load a king, from whom thou hadst received so many instances of favour, with chains, and
 " afterwards murder him! Be gone from my sight,
 " thou monster of cruelty and perfidiousness." The king said no more, but sending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deserved; suspending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general assembly of the Persians.

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SECT. XIII. ALEXANDER, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxarthes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, send ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the Iaxarthes, gains a signal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends BESSUS to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.

(1) ALEXANDER, insatiable of victory and conquests, still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxarthes.

Not far from this river the Barbarians, rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of prisoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thousand, who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly, but the Barbarians knew of it; for they saw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he

(i) Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149. & l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

* Quintus Curtius and Arrian not in the Caspian sea, but in the calls it the Tanais, but they are Pontus Euxinus, and is now called mistaken. The Tanais lies much the Don, more westward, and empties itself

he showed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. These assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods: in a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: and there was no way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very considerable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burnt and laid waste all the plains.

There came an embassy to him from the (k) Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: these submitted to Alexander. They were considered as the most equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristick, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxartes, in order to curb the nations

(k) Abii Scythæ.

he had already conquered, and those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander dispatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bessus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly surprised at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whose name it was called. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the *Memaceni*, to whom fifty troopers were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: but this prince, whom no danger or disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore caused the wall to be
fapped,

sapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above an hundred and twenty thousand men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garrison, and shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing sixty * furlongs in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such dispatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: And to people his new city, he ransomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians, who live on the other side of the Iaxarthes, seeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they sent a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no design of attacking the Scythians, finding them make several incursions, even in his sight, in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed; especially when advice was brought him at the same time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obstacles

would

* Three leagues.

would have discouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms. and the Bactrians also; his army was harrassed by the Scythians; he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand up-right, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a single order. To increase his affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the passage of the river in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all night long; however, his courage surmounted all things. Being told, that the auspices were not propitious, he forced the sooth-sayers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and shewed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held the king in such high veneration, that only his presence immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; intreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had made twelve thousand; and also prepared a great number of skins for that purpose.

As every thing was ready for the march, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who all rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, being very probably surprised (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that this did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors made this speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

“ Had

" Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to
 " thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too
 " little for thee. With one hand thou wouldest touch
 " the east, and with the other the west; and not satisfied
 " with this, thou wouldest follow the sun, and know
 " where he hides himself. Such as thou art, thou yet
 " aspirest after what it will be impossible for thee to
 " attain. Thou crogest over from Europe into Asia;
 " and when thou shalt have subdued all the race of men,
 " then thou wilt make war against rivers, forests, and
 " wild beasts. Dost thou not know, that tall trees are
 " many years a growing, but may be tore up in an
 " hour's time; that the lion serves sometimes for food
 " to the smallest birds; that iron, though so very hard,
 " is consumed by rust; in a word, that there is nothing
 " so strong which may not be destroyed by the weakest
 " thing?

" What have we to do with thee? We never set
 " foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit
 " woods, be allowed to live without knowing who thou
 " art, and whence thou comest? We will neither com-
 " mand over, or submit to any man. And that thou
 " mayest be sensible what kind of people the Scythians
 " are, know, that we received from heaven, as a rich
 " present, a yoke of oxen, a plough-share, a dart, a
 " javelin, and a cup. These we make use of, both with
 " our friends, and against our enemies. To our friends
 " we give corn, which we procure by the labour of our
 " oxen; with them we offer wine to the gods in our
 " cup: and with regard to our enemies, we combat
 " them at a distance with our arrows, and near at hand
 " with our javelins. * It is with these we formerly
 " conquered the most warlike nations, subdued the most
 " powerful kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened our-
 " selves a way into the heart of Egypt.

" But

* This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and possessed themselves of Upper Asia, for twenty-eight years. See the second volume of this work, in the history of the Assyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his sense being pretty much embarrassed.

“ But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon earth. “ Thou hast plundered all nations thou overcamest. “ Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, invaded Syria, “ Persia, and Bactriana; thou art forming a design to “ march as far as India, and thou now comest hither to “ seize upon our herds of cattle. The great possessions “ thou hast, only make thee covet more eagerly what “ thou hast not. Dost thou not see how long the Bactrians have checked thy progress? Whilst thou art “ subduing these, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to “ thee only the occasion of war.

“ Pass but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the “ great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee “ to pursue the Scythians: and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy “ army, laden with the spoils of so many nations; and, “ when thou shalt fancy us at a great distance, thou wilt “ see us rush suddenly on thy camp; for we pursue, and “ fly from our enemies, with equal speed. I am informed that the Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our desarts, than of thy “ great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe to “ thee, that fortune is slippery; hold her fast therefore, “ for fear she should escape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou desirest to continue in possession of it.

“ If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to mortals, and not deprive them of their possessions: if thou “ art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. “ They whom thou shalt not molest, will be thy true “ friends; the strongest friendships being contracted “ between equals; and they are esteemed equals, who “ have not tried their strength against each other: but “ do not imagine, that those whom thou conquerest can “ love thee; for there is no such thing as friendship between a master and his slave, and a forced peace is “ soon followed by a war.

“ To

“ To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians will
 “ take an oath in their concluding an alliance. The
 “ only oath among them, is to keep their word without
 “ swearing. Such cautions as these do indeed become
 “ Greeks, who sign their treaties, and call upon the gods
 “ to witness them; but, with regard to us, our religion
 “ consists in being sincere, and in keeping the promises
 “ we have made. That man who is not ashamed to
 “ break his word with men, is not ashamed of de-
 “ ceiving the gods; and of what use could friends be
 “ to thee whom thou couldest not trust? Consider that
 “ we will guard both Europe and Asia for thee. We
 “ extend as far as Thrace, and we are told, that this
 “ country is contiguous to Macedonia. The river Iax-
 “ arthes only divides us from Bactriana. Thus we are
 “ thy neighbours on both sides. Consider, therefore,
 “ whether thou wilt have us for friends, or enemies.”

The Barbarian spoke thus: to whom the king made but a very short answer; *That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counsel; of his good fortune, by still continuing to rely upon it; and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rashly.* Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers armed cap-a-pee. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors who wore corslets. The like order and disposition was observed in the other rafts or floats which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them; the clamour and confusion,

* Jurando gratiam Scythas fangere ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Græcorum ista cautio est, qui acta consignat, & deos invo-

cant: nos religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. *Q. Curt.*

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confusion, that are inseparable from such an enterprize; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the sight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a strong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of shafts, began to retire, and draw their horses back, they leaped on the shore with incredible swiftness, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice; but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for these were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till being at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as they could see, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged pretty close one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side there were but

but sixty troopers slain, and about an hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians all their prisoners without ransom, to show, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The *Saca*, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily free from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and sacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, who were well-shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprised to see them go to death with so much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes? They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of

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so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they blessed this death; a death so glorious, that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies? They answered, he might be assured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them further, what pledges they would give him of their faith and sincerity? "No other (answered they) but the same life we receive from your goodness, and which we shall always be ready to give back, whenever you shall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled all his generals, he commanded Bessus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high-treason, who are tore to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this considerable re-inforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those

who had rebelled ; and to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

(1) All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one strong hold, called *Petra Oxiana*, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it ; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner ; and after using several insulting expressions, asked, “ whether Alexander, who was able to “ do all things, could fly also ; and whether nature had, “ on a sudden, given him wings ? ”

Alexander was highly exasperated at this answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dextrous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus : “ It was in your company, “ brave young men, that I stormed such places as were “ thought impregnable ; that I made my way over “ mountains covered with eternal snows ; crossed rivers, “ and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This rock, “ which you see, has but one outlet, which alone is de- “ fended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. “ There is no watch or centinel, except on that side “ which faces our camp. If you search very narrowly, “ you certainly will meet with some path that leads to “ the top of the rock. Nothing has been made so in- “ accessible

“ accessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour ;
“ and it was only by our attempting, what no one before
“ had hopes of effecting, that we possessed ourselves of
“ Alia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall
“ have made yourselves masters of it, set up a white
“ standard there as a signal ; and be assured, that I then
“ will certainly disengage you from the enemy, and
“ draw them upon myself, by making a diversion.”

At the same time that the king gave out this order, he made them the most noble promises ; but the pleasing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the most noble ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march * at the second watch of the night, by that part which should seem to them of easiest access ; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They then took provisions for two days ; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot ; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some forced their wedges into the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves ; others thrust their cramp-irons into the stones that were frozen, to keep themselves from falling in so slippery a way ; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling-ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold, and wind. Nevertheless, the hardest task was yet to come ; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most, was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwith-

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standing

* About ten o'clock.

standing this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpressibly weary, and many of them had even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that, dispersing themselves in such distant parts of the rock as were free from snows, they laid down in them, and slept till day-break. At last waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which showed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a desire of storming the fortresses, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himself did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the signal. Nevertheless she was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendour which breaks out at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had founded the Barbarians, he dispatched him a second time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to show them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with

him, which the Barbarian doing, he showed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said in an insulting tone of voice, *You see that Alexander's soldiers have wings.* In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to sound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud, and cried, *Victory!* These things, though of little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into so great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the summit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this, Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were sent back with him, who agreed to surrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be spared. The king, notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not master of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the same rock. The multitudes of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. *The death of CLITUS. Several expeditions of ALEXANDER. He commands worship to be paid to himself, after the manner of the Persians. Discontents arise among the Macedonians. Death of CALISTHENES the Philosopher.*

(m) **A**LEXANDER having subdued the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaría. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalised himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, he covered the king with his shield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had

(m) Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 603—696. Justin. l. xii. c. 6—7.

had been his own mother. As the king, from these several considerations had very great respect for Clitus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-commendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, " That the famous
" victory of Chæroneæ was won by his means; and
" that the glory of so immortal a battle had been torn
" from him by the malice and jealousy of his father.
" That in the † insurrection which broke out between
" the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip,
" fainting away after the wounds he had received in that
" tumult, had laid himself on the ground; and could
" not think of a better method to save himself, than by
" lying along as dead; that on this occasion he had
" covered him with his shield, and killed with his own
" hands those who attempted to fall upon him; but
" that his father could never prevail upon himself to
" confess this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed
" that he owed his life to his own son. That in the
" war against the Illyrians, he was the only person who
" had done any thing, Philip having had no manner of
" share in it; and hearing of the defeat of the ene-
" my, no otherwise than by the letters he sent him.
" That the persons worthy of praise, were not such as
" initiated themselves in the ‡ mysteries of the Samo-
" thracians,

K 4

* In quo Rex, cùm multo incaluisse merito, immodicus æstimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. Q. Curt.

† This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.

‡ It was usual for generals, be-

fore they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.

“ thracians, when they ought to have laid waste all
 “ Asia with fire and sword, but those who had achieved
 “ such mighty exploits as surpassed all belief.”

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to the young men, but were very shocking to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was intoxicated, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from * Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, “ That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, “ that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names “ of kings only should be mentioned; † because, by “ these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they “ had purchased with their blood.” The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths, as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause;
 Clitus

* *In his Andromache.*

† Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. *Q. Curt.*

Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger; "It is nevertheless this hand (said he to him, " extending it at the same time) that saved your life at " the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and " wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused " of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur. But " the tragical end of Parmenio shows, what reward they " and myself may expect for all our services." This last reproach stung Alexander: however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. " He is in the right (says Clitus, as he rose up) not to " bear freeborn men at his table, who can only tell him " truth. He will do well to pass his life among Bar- " barians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their " adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, *Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus.*

The king's anger being in a manner extinguished on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed abused his patience, but then he had always served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and saved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the sister of Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himself on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have dispatched himself with it, had

not the guards, who rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground, and only venting deep sighs. But his friends, fearing his silence would be fatal, forced themselves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Aristander the soothsayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he saw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and seated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind. He next was addressed by two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably insinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recall his reason, by reflexions of a solid nature, drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all such expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentlest hand. But Anaxarchus did not observe this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, *How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, like the meanest slave! Does not he know, that he himself is a supreme law to his subjects; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to subject himself to a vain opinion?* The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by asserting, that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflexions

reflexions against the cries of a justly-alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in discourses calculated to fully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to show his dislike of what was said, by a mournful but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to speak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such a reservedness been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the sacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjustly soever they may act, not only every contemptuous and insulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they being the representatives of god himself.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to a feast; when he makes him a companion of debauch, and in person excites him to quaff immoderately; a king, on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his subjects to forget it also; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights which wine commonly inspires: and should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder; and, indeed, what havock does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander.

K 6

How

* Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia. *Publ. Syr.*

How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to subdue those two vices in his youth; * and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is asserted, that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? † Alexander, who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by those two vices, which threw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to subdue himself; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is, of all conquests, the most glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither some rebels were retired, all whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army towards the rock Choriensis, of which Syfimethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syfimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander had resolved to attack the *Daba*, because Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer

* Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, si quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam eum vitiis imbut, quæ robustum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt protecta. *Quintil.* l. i. c. i.

† Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ succubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in potestate, quàm affectus—Imperare sibi, maximum imperium est. *Senec. Epist.* cxlii.

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longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched life her husband had forced her to lead, and having often intreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid a spectacle, and ordered her to be driven ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the foldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunderbolts fell every moment at the feet of the foldiers; so that they did not dare either to stand still or advance forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army on this occasion were insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible to these calamities, rode up and down among the foldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from some distant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army, but upwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and foldiers the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the *Sacæ*, which he soon over-run and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty was heightened

heightend by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations, in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his father-in-law: but as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complacency.

In fine; having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded, in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs) that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time as hostages and soldiers. In the mean while, he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polyperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorn themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the swords of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance, caused the swords of the soldiers to be set off with silver plates, put golden bridles to the horses, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprise, at the head of an hundred and twenty thousand men, all equipped with the magnificence above described.

* Sed, post Clyti cædem, libertate sublata, vultu, qui maximè servit, assentiebantur. *Q. Curt.*

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All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means for putting that design in execution. He was resolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians, would condescend to fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To * sooth and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the mean refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: it was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, would resign their seats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expence, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer him as to a god, without the

* Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciofa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes sæpius assentatio, quàm hostis, everit. *Q. Curt.*

the least scruple, since they believed him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had surmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in case the rest should not care to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to show them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall. But that all of them must do their duty, especially those that professed wisdom, who ought to serve to the rest as an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. (n) He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was considered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel, as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between grovelling complacency, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences, with which his disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of † Homer to him;

My son thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philosopher, seeing that every one, on this occasion, continued in a deep silence, and that the eyes

(n) Diog. Laert. in Aristot. lib. v. p. 303.

* Inter abruptam contumaciam Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 20.
& deforme obsequium pergere iter † ὁκνῶμεν; ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκείνῳ
ambitione ac periculis vacuum. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. II. xlii. v. 95.

of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made a speech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. “ Had the king (said he) been present when thou madest thy speech, none among us would then have attempted to answer thee, for he himself would have interrupted thee, and not have suffered thee to prompt him to assume the customs of Barbarians, in casting an odium on his person and glory, by so servile an adulation, But since he is absent, I will answer thee in his name. I consider Alexander as worthy of all the honours that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference between the worship of the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and sacrifices; the latter is confined to praises only, and awful respect. We salute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience, and fidelity; but we adore the former, we institute festivals to their honour, and sing hymns and spiritual songs to their glory. The worship of the gods does itself vary, according to their rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all things, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended should we pay to another person the homage due to his sacred person only; ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we bestow upon mortals, the honours due to them alone? I am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest; he is the greatest of kings, and the most glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a man, not a god. To obtain this title, he must first be divested of his mortal frame; but this is greatly our interest to wish may not happen, but as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship Hercules till after his death;

“ death; and that not till the oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians are cited as an example for our imitation; but how long is it that the vanquished have given law to the victor? Can we forget that Alexander crossed the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but Asia to Greece!”

The deep silence which all the company observed whilst Callisthenes spoke, was an indication, in some measure, of their thoughts. The king, who stood behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That without insisting any farther, he would only require the Persians to fall prostrate, according to their usual custom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been busied in some affair of importance. Immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one of them bowed so low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to *strike harder*. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Callisthenes was not so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of some private pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it was very happily discovered, the instant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were seized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he insisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of Philosopher, from the

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solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; sometimes it must be of a knavish and treacherous, at least, of an hypocritical, flattering cast. He very seldom was seen at the king's table though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy silent air was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure, had he been possessed by a prince who hated falsehood; for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of such a virtue, and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to those things which were for his true interest. From that instant no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those, who had the greatest love for the publick good, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was listened to but flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having sacrificed, to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe, after Seneca, that the death of * Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime,

* Hoc est Alexandri crimen quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Perpetuum, quod nulla virtus, nulla sanctorum multa millia; opponetur, illorum felicitas redimet. Nam & Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit,

crime, that no quality, how beautiful soever, no military exploit, though of the most conspicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the east: in answer to each of these particulars, *Yes*, says Seneca, *but he murdered Callisthenes*; a crime of so heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

SECT. XV. ALEXANDER *sets out for India. A digression with regard to that country. He besieges and takes several cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He crosses the river Indus, afterwards the Hydaspes, and gains a signal victory over PORUS, whom he restores to his throne.*

(a) **A**LEXANDER, to stop the murmurs and discontent which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, as himself was, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them: and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendour, still admire in

(a) Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, & Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transferit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quam scelus Callisthenes, Seneca. Nat. quæst. l. vi. c. 23.

in Alexander: a ridiculous desire of rambling up and down the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign; of ransacking and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions, and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of reason. Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and stupid project he had formed, of subduing, with infinite labour, and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India will exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia: to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the east, the Ganges: to the south, the Ocean or Indian sea.

(b) All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausoleum.

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the smallest, is that of the

the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field in war time: It is an inviolable law, never to molest them on their lands.

The third is that of herdsimen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who, instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the publick.

The fifth is of soldiers, whose only employment is war: they are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and disengaged from cares of every kind.

The sixth order is that of overseers, (*Επίσκοποι*) who superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the publick councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governours of provinces, generals,

generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are entrusted with the publick monies.

These different orders of the state never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another, it is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and reflections to those of his ancestors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only entreat the reader to observe, that in every wise government, every well-governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grasing of cattle (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration; and that the neglect of either, is erring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the distance from a court, frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has entrusted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispence with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the crossing of rivers is rendered much

much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred twenty years; nay much longer, if some ancient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk; (*proboscis*) is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The † elephant, notwithstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were informed with something like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master, and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have abused or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates, that he had seen an elephant dance with two symbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and the rest danced round him, keeping time with a surprising exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclose a large spot of ground, with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high; to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect what is intended.

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles additus habebant ad pastum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. n. 123.

† Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vastior? De Nat. Deor. lib. i. n. 97.

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intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised, on the other side of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, and its entrance is very small. In this inclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the inclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the inclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and tamed insensibly by blows and hunger, till such time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tusks furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

(c) This prince having entered India*, all the petty kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared that he was the third son of Jupiter†, who had arrived in their country: that

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(c) Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Justin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* Quintus Curtius supposes, that of it.
several countries on the other side of + Could these Greek names of
the Indus, but adjacent to that river, gods be known to the Indians?
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they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæstion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, commanding them to subdue all who should refuse to submit. But finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused boats to be built in such a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a sudden, those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. But as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nyssa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest that hid it. In the mean time, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion, that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out the siege. This coming to the king's
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ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

(d) He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as also those of Acedera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he sat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river * Choaspes, and left Coenus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magosa, whose king, called Asfacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thousand foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have united their endeavours in raising its fortifications; for towards the east, it is surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are steep, and difficult of access; and on the west are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which, through length of time, had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these fail, a trench, of an astonishing height, is raised with incredible labour.

Whilst Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without so much as binding up the wound, mounted his horse,

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(d) A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

* This is not the Choaspes which runs by Susa.

and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried, * *Every one swears that I am the son of Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I am a man.* However, he did not leave the place till he had seen every thing; and given all the necessary orders. Some of the soldiers, therefore, demolished such houses as stood without the city, and with the rubbish of them they filled up the gulphs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, visited the works, and after applauding the soldiers for their great dispatch, he caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the Barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to them to move of themselves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never seen, could not be the effect of human strength; so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having besieged

* Omnes jurant me Jovis esse filium, sed vulnus hoc hominem esse me clamat. Senec. Epist. lix.

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this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its sides being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a forest. This the king had cut down, commanding his soldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, but this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him: Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery) fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No fight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights,

making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surpris'd to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was inform'd, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily in those precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king having so happily and unexpectedly possess'd himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offer'd sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he march'd and took Ecbolimus; and after sixteen days march arriv'd at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, call'd Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheless delay'd putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he push'd forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "That he was come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands. That he surrender'd his person and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he was sensible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery." The king greatly satisfy'd with the frankness of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and restor'd him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers?

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soldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Porus, the latter of whom was most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign; and after each party had promised fidelity on both sides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered with great coldness, that he would do so, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time a re-inforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot; not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men; so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs

wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and slight skirmishes were every day fought in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to make those small excursions of their respective forces, and to form a judgement from such skirmishes, of the success of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egesimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army: and, with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarce any other assistance but their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swam unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts

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which were shot from far. Those who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprisingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole was but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no further notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in this river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than any of the rest. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army; with orders for them to make a great noise, at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he would not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horse and

foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendour with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king, both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage of that place. He however was by this time got to the island above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy was employed in opposing Craterus. But now a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages, and succours in his favour: the storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion, and the darkness, assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported, that it was on this occasion he cried out, *O Athenians, could you think I would expose myself to such dangers, to merit your applause!* And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides

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Thucydides and Xenophon (*e*); and so anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what kind of impression the perusal of his history made on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. He himself headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable dispatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might easily continue fighting till his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his passing, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen sat on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle

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grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarce stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However, he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle-array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at an hundred feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that

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that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigued, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: but his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; insomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but, that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those

those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, they did not observe their usual order; but, distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two

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sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governour of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; *How!* says he, *is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?* Immediately after which, he would have transfix'd him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince, and thereupon dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he

he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? *Like a king*, replied Porus. *But*, continued Alexander, *do you ask nothing more?* *No*, replied Porus; *all things are included in that single word*. Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horse who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he surmounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the prophane historians, and to Alexander himself. This monarch

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was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the sovereign disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same orders to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The same power conducted their enterprises, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission and completed their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake to Cyrus in Isaiah (*f*) *Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will cause the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treasures of darkness, and hidden treasures of secret places.*—*I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.* This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his soldiers had for him, the fore-knowledge of his felicity, and his assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

SECT. XVI. ALEXANDER advances into India. *A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with going no farther than the ocean. He subdues all things in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the siege of the city of the Oxydracæ; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.*

(*g*) ALEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked
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(*f*) Chap. xliv. 1.—5. (*g*) A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 10.

upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forbore visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Caytheans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

(b) One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamped against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprised at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no man possessed
 " any more of that element than he could enjoy: That
 " the only difference between him and other men, was,
 " that he was more restless, and ambitious than they,
 " and over-ran all seas and lands, merely to harm others
 " and himself: and yet—he would die at last, and possess
 " no greater part of the earth than was necessary
 " for his interment." The king was not displeased at this answer: but he was hurried on by a torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.

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(b) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

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These Brachmans, says Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the publick sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced for ever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over, and fills it, with his majesty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philosopher, with some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the austerity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this planet darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to prevent their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those

those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and associate with their own species; and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakness in man not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tusculan questions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the * women of that country, who used to contest for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave a judgement till such time as they made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The description which (i) Porphyrius has left us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually.

(i) Lib. de Abstin. Animal.

* Mulieres in India, cum est nuptæ. Quæ est victrix ea læta, cujusque earum vir mortuus, in prosequentibus suis, unâ cum viro certamen judiciumque veniunt, in rogum imponitur: illa victa quam plurimum ille dilexerit: mæsta discedit. *Tusc. Quæst. lib. plures enim singulis solent esse v. n. 78.*

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The greatest part of them live alone, and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor profess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burthen, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will leave the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins*; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just, to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine. That man's guilt had occasioned a change in this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored them their former abundance; however, that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first

first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

After this first conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the superior of the band. This brachman said, "That he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his government: * That he was the first, who had ever united in himself the two characters of conqueror and philosopher; that it were to be wished, that the latter character were the attribute of those who could inspire the wisdom which they themselves possessed, and command it by their authority." He added, That he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself: That he was exempted from want, desire, or fear: That so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body) and set him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts.

* Μέγαν γὰρ ἵδαι αὐτὸν ἐν ὅσποις φιλοσοφεῖντα.

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(k) Q. Curt.
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thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several ends of it, he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side, all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake such long journeys. We shall soon show the reader, the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

(k) Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphafus. He was told, that after passing that river he must travel eleven days through desarts, and that when he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the *Angaridæ* and the *Prasii*, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two thousand chariots; and, which struck the greatest terror, with three thousand elephants. The report of this being spread through the army, surprised all the soldiers, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger

(k) Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. & l. vi. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain, accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that secret assemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: "I am not ignorant, O soldiers, that the Indians have published several things, purposely to terrify us; but such discourses and artifices are not unusual to you. Thus the Persians described the straits at Cilicia, the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tygris and Euphrates, as so many insurmountable difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them. Do you repent you have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have subdued for you a multitude of provinces, as you have extended your conquests beyond the Iaxartes and mount Caucasus; as you see the rivers of India flow through the midst of your empire; why are you afraid of crossing the Hyphasis, and of setting up your trophies on the banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What! can the elephants, whose number is so falsely augmented, terrify you to such a degree? But has not experience taught you, that they are more destructive to their own masters than to the enemy? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are they more numerous than those of Darius? It is sure too late for you to count the legions of the enemy, after your victories have made Asia a desert. It was when you crossed the Hellespont that you ought to have reflected on the small number of your forces: but now the Scythians form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the *Dabæ* are with us, and fight for our glory.

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“ I, however, do not depend on those Barbarians.
“ It is on you only that I rely; your victorious arms
“ only are present to my imagination, and your courage alone assures me success. So long as I shall be
“ surrounded with you in fight, I shall not have any
“ occasion to count the number of my troops nor that
“ of the enemy, provided you go on to battle with the
“ same marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto
“ discovered. Not only our glory, but even our safety,
“ is at stake. Should we now retreat, it will be supposed that we fly before our enemies, and from that
“ moment we shall appear as mean as the enemy will
“ be judged formidable; for you are sensible, that in
“ war reputation is every thing. It is in my power to
“ make use of authority, and yet I employ entreaties
“ only. Do not abandon (I conjure you) I do not
“ say your king and master, but your pupil and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces in my hand
“ that glorious palm, which will soon unless envy rob
“ me of so great a glory, equal me to Hercules, and
“ to Bacchus.” As the soldiers stood with their eyes
cast on the ground, and did not once open their lips
“ —What! (continued he) do I then speak to the
“ deaf? Will no one listen to me, nor condescend to
“ answer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed,
“ I am delivered up to the enemy. But—I will
“ advance still farther, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will
“ follow me whithersoever I lead them. Return then
“ to your country, and boast, ye deserters of your king,
“ that you have abandoned him. As for myself, I will
“ here meet either with the victory you despair of, or
“ with a glorious death, which henceforwards ought
“ to be the sole object of my wishes.”

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetick speech, the soldiers still kept a profound silence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was as strong as ever; but that as their bodies were

covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them presumed to address him in their favour. The examples of Clitus, and that of Callisthenes, were still recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilst therefore the soldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke into such deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and in deep silence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as follows: “No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that so great a calamity should ever befall us. We shall always retain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march whithersoever you shall think fit to lead us. But, if your soldiers may be allowed to lay before you their sentiments sincerely, and without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, which nothing but the most extreme necessity could have extorted from them. The greatness, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even your soldiers themselves. We have done all that it was possible for men to do. We have crossed seas and lands. We shall soon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conquest

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“ of another, by going in search of new Indias, unknown to the Indians themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies covered over with wounds and scars. You are sensible how numerous we were at your first setting out, and you see what now remains of us. The few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor strong enough to follow you. All of them long to revisit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a desire natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation could prescribe you; and to have vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your enemies.”

Cœnus had no sooner spoke, but there were heard, on all sides, cries and confused voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as *their lord and their father*. Afterwards, all the rest of the officers, especially those who assumed a greater authority because of their age, and for that reason could be better excused the freedom they took, made the same humble request: but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he designed, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for hav-

ing suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphafus, called to this day *Pengab* that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which compose it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the most incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were seventy-five feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with fosses fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, seven feet and a half in length: and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion. Alexander's view in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroick and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphafus. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. (1) From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of sickness carried off Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and

(1) Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. lib. xv. p. 692.

and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the publick, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of eight hundred vessels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades or seven stars, according to Aristobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part, as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together ten thousand horse, and fourscore thousand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strong holds, and at last marched against the city of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limneus. The soldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the butt, against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy,

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having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poised his body in such manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence there stood a great tree, against the trunk of which he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprise, and the fire that shot from his eyes, had struck into the enemy. At last an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this (*m*) mighty conqueror, this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however, Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirst of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up that instant, and attempting impossibilities, for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the soldiers, who climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate standing between two

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(*m*) Plut. *de fortun.* Alex. p. 344.

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towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

The first care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * surgeons cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and, after undressing him, they found it was a bearded † arrow †; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the seven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death increased among the Barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one; purposely to shew himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refused it, and calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore, and the neighbouring

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* In these ages they and physicians were the same thing.

† So arrows are called that have hooks. Animadvertunt hamos in-
beards at their points like fish- esse telo.

neighbouring forests echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with seeing him; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand blessings from heaven, wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

At this instant deputies came from the *Malli*, with the chiefs of the *Oxydraca*, being one hundred and sixty, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whomsoever he pleased to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded a thousand of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers, and most intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and serenity of his mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him: it was Craterus spoke on this occasion. "We

"begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, now we find
 "you in the condition to which the goodness of the gods
 "has restored you. But how great were our fears and our
 "griefs! How severely did we reproach ourselves,
 "for having abandoned, in such an extremity, our king,

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“ our father ! It was not in our power to follow him ;
“ but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon
“ ourselves as criminals, in not having attempted im-
“ possibilities for your sake. But, Sir, never plunge
“ us in such deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched
“ paltry town deserve to be bought at so dear a price as
“ the loss of your life ? Leave those petty exploits and
“ enterprises to us, and preserve your person for such
“ occasions only as are worthy of you. We still shud-
“ der with horror, when we reflect on what we so lately
“ were spectators of. We have seen the moment, when
“ the most abject hands upon earth were going to seize
“ the greatest prince in the universe, and despoil him of
“ his royal robes. Permit us, Sir, to say, you are not
“ your own master, but that you owe yourself to us :
“ we have a right over your life, since ours depends on
“ it ; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you, as
“ being your subjects and your children, to be more
“ careful of so precious a life, if not for your own sake,
“ at least for ours, and for the felicity of the universe.”

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies
of their affection, and having embraced them severally
with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows :
“ I cannot enough thank all present, who are the flower
“ of my citizens and friends, not only for your having
“ this day preferred my safety to your own, but also for
“ the strong proofs you have given me of your zeal and
“ affection, from the beginning of this war ; and if any
“ thing is capable of making me wish for a longer life,
“ it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, such
“ valuable friends as you. But give me leave to observe,
“ that in some cases we differ very much in opinion.
“ You wish to enjoy me long ; and even, if it were possi-
“ ble, for ever ; but as to myself, I compute the length
“ of my existence, not by years, but by glory. I might
“ have confined my ambition within the narrow limits
“ of Macedonia ; and, contented with the kingdom my
“ ancestors left me, have waited, in the midst of pleasures
“ and indolence, an inglorious old age. I own, that

“ if my victories, not my years, are computed, I shall
 “ seem to have lived long ; but can you imagine, that
 “ after having made Europe and Asia but one empire,
 “ after having conquered the two noblest parts of the
 “ world, in the tenth year of my reign, and the thirtieth
 “ of my age, that it will become me to stop in the midst
 “ of so exalted a career, and discontinue the pursuit of
 “ glory, to which I have entirely devoted myself ?
 “ Know, that this glory ennobles all things, and gives
 “ a true and solid grandeur to whatever appears insigni-
 “ ficant. In what place soever I may fight, I shall
 “ fancy myself upon the stage of the world, and in pre-
 “ sence of all mankind. I confess that I have achieved
 “ mighty things hitherto ; but the country we are now
 “ in, reproaches me that a woman has done still greater.
 “ It is Semiramis I mean. How many nations did she
 “ conquer ! How many cities were built by her ! What
 “ magnificent and stupendous works did she finish ! How
 “ shameful is it, that I should not yet have attained to
 “ so exalted a pitch of glory ! Do but second my ardour,
 “ and I shall soon surpass her. Defend me only from
 “ secret cabals, and domestick treasons, by which most
 “ princes lose their lives, I take the rest upon myself,
 “ and will be answerable to you for all the events of the
 “ war.”

This speech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's
 character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not
 know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He
 certainly placed it where it was not. He was strongly
 prejudiced in vulgar error, and cherished it. He fancied
 himself born merely for glory ; and that none could be ac-
 quired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular conduct. In
 his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed
 neither reason, virtue, nor humanity ; and, as if his
 ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard
 to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers
 nor soldiers would enter into his views ; and they lent
 themselves very unwillingly, to support his ridiculous
 enterprises.

Alexander,

Alexander, after having ended his speech, dismissed the assembly, and continued encamped for several days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the *Sabraca*, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied sixty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and re-inforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander spread a terroure through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of the king of Samus. At the siege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, vastly generous, easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume: in a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

(n) The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There

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the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to (c) Arrian, signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in *Patala*, as also an harbour and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprise, was Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, "That they
 " at last were come to the end of their toils, which they
 " had so earnestly desired; that now nothing could oppose their valour, nor add to their glory; that without
 " fighting any more, or spilling of blood, they were
 " masters of the universe; that their exploits had the
 " same boundaries with nature; and that they would
 " be spectators of things, known only to the immortal
 " gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose ebbs are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to punish their rashness. They were no less surprised and terrified, some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before

(c) Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.

* Four hundred furlongs.

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before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm

At last Alexander, after having sailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. ALEXANDER, in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagardæ, where CYRUS's monument stood. ORSINES, a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandestine intrigues of BAGOAS the eunuch. CALANUS the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he puts himself to death. ALEXANDER marries STATIRA, the daughter of DARIUS. HARPALUS arrives at Athens; DEMOSTHENES is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which ALEXANDER appeases. He recalls ANTIPATER from Macedonia, and sends CRATERUS in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of HEPHÆSTION.

(p) ALEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgement upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph: and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

(q) Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

(p) Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

(q) Arrian. p. 335.

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We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the *Oritæ*, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Sicknefs, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither plowed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burthen, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a disease which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: for the soil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest that country, sent him all kind of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governours of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kinds of beasts of burthen, from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms, as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

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He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade, and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpose.

The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantick creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves in every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. It was very happy, says Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thousand resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated these conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

(r) Nearchus still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian gulph, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied

(r) Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed, and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. *Your fleet, royal Sir,* cried he immediately, *thanks to the gods, is not lost:* Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed, that that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governours and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence: for, fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. But Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-administration, and with them six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the same severity, all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive, or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the consolation
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of his subjects, whom he supplies with a vengeance themselves ought never to exercise ; in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terrour to the rest ; and that the whole weight of the publick authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He proposed no less than to sail from the Persian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars ; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus : he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpose, he sent orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprize ; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Passagardæ, a city of Persia. Orsines was governour of the country, and the greatest nobleman in it. He descended from Cyrus ; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures, having, for many

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years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a signal piece of service. The person, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governour, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity, till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine managed horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thousand talents of silver in specie*. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the East and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines's attendants, giving them instructions how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of his discontent. Nevertheless, the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced and overreached

* About 600,000*l.*

reached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, (s) assures him, that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who represent them. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer; and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which sooths their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies, and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom enquire into secret calumnies, either from indolence, giddiness, or shame to appear suspicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word from their unwillingness to own that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner, the most un sullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander, having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scymitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vastly surprised that so powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to speak, "Are we to wonder, (says he) to find the tombs of kings so empty since the houses of governors and provinces
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(s) De Consider. lib. ii. c. 14.

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(s) Arrian
Alex. p. 70

“are filled with the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; but I have heard Darius say, that immense treasures were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profusion of Orsines, who, by bestowing what he could not keep, without ruining himself, thought to make a merit of this in your sight.”

This charge was without the least foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence, on this occasion, ought naturally to have cleared Orsines: but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and amongst the rest, with stealing the treasures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought sufficient; so that this prince was loaded with chains, before he so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history, of princes who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. (1) This man, having lived fourscore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with sickness; and

(1) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

and having a very severe fit of the cholick, upon his arrival at Passagardæ, he resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains; and being also assured of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and desired, that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might easily be dissuaded from so dreadful a design; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce with it. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offering up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; intreated them to be merry that day, to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words he ascended, with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame caught him, he did not make the least motion; but with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the posture in which he at first had laid himself; and completed his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

(u) The historian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as suiting only a frantick, senseless wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not mistaken): in fine others applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over sorrow and death.

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Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper; and in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should quaff most. He who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: a scene, worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

(x) From Passagardæ, Alexander came to Persepolis: and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself, for his folly in setting on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Susa, he came down again to the mouth of the Pasi-tigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods sacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it so far safe, through numberless dangers.

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephæstion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured, he persuaded the greatest noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about four-score young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should henceforward form
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* *A thousand crowns.* (x) Arrian. de Indis, p. 357. 358.

but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents *; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers, for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, † *That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication.* A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which in affairs of government is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called *Epigones*, that is *successors*; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things, relating to the science of war. They

* * About fifteen hundred thousand pounds.

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ἑτ' ἐν τὸν βασιλέα

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were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed Alexander observing these were harrassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

(y) In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens.

(z) Immediately all such orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion seven hundred* talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The same of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this credit. Philip's

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deputies

(y) Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858. (z) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

* Seven hundred thousand crowns.

deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and intreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: * *If they resemble me*, replied Phocion, *the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury.* (a) Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred † talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, upon what design Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? *It is*, replied they, *because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man.* Says Phocion, *Let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.*

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring, that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first show more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion, and the beauty of the workmanship, desired him to take it in

* Si mei similes erunt, idem sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis hic, inquit, agellus illos aliet, qui impensis illorum ali augerique lux- me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: uriam. *Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. i.*

(a) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749:

† An hundred thousand crowns.

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his hand, and tell him *the weight of it*. Demosthenes taking the cup, was surpris'd at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weigh'd? Harpalus answered with a smile, *Twenty + talents, I believe*; and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup: for so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being * no longer master of himself, he joined on a sudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the assembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a + *squinancy*, but an *argyrancy*; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Carricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shewn on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes, to prove his innocence, propos'd a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was

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the

+ Twenty thousand crowns.

* The expression in the Greek is *δουλο-ίας, ὡς πρὶ παραδειγμάτων φρεσιν*. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garrison (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby dispossessed himself of the command of it. *ἐλπίστis ὑπὸ τῆς*

+ It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of these Greek words. *Οἱ χεῖρ' ἐπὶ στραγγηλῆς ἐφραζον, ἡλ' ἀπ' ἀ' ἑργαστῆς εἰληφθαι νόμῳ τῆς δευαγωγῆς.*

the first they tried, and fined upon being convicted fifty * talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shows that great men are not such at all times, and on all occasions.

(b) It were to be wished, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates in justification of Demosthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coasted the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Tygris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by

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* Fifty thousand crowns.

(b) Pausan. l. ii. p. 148.

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reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the same time give them the strongest proof how greatly they were in his esteem. However, the very contrary happened: for being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Upon which, without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be discharged; saying further, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever, and in what manner they pleased: but as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprised, and without once hesitating, jumps from his tribunal; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their courage in an instant: quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable either to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-ascended

his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words: " You all desire
 " a discharge; I grant it you. Go now, and publish
 " to the whole world, that you have left your prince
 " to the mercy of the nations he had conquered, who
 " were more affectionate to him than you." After speaking this, he returned suddenly into his tent; cashiered his old guard; appoints another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers; shuts himself up for some days, and would not see any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, it could not have surprised them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, threw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs; declare that the loss of life will not be so grievous as the loss of honour; and protest that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At last, Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after some gentle reproaches, which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the publick games, they should
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be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority, the same pay which had been given their fathers. Such support and honours granted to veterans, must necessarily enoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession! It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier in particular; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

(b) From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having dispatched the most urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals: there had come to him from Greece, three thousand dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoning himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, and the confident of all his secrets, and, to say all in a

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word, a second self. Craterus only seemed to dispute this honour with him. A few words, which one day escaped that prince, shews the difference he made between these two courtiers. *Craterus*, says he, *loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander*. This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion had devoted himself, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealousy; he never abused his credit, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted: but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the *Cossæi*, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

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SECT.

SECT. XVIII. ALEXANDER enters Babylon, contrary to the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the piers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of BELUS. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. SYSIGAMBIS is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey ALEXANDER'S corpse to the temple of JUPITER-AMMON in Libya.

(c) **A**LEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go on farther. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting, in the strongest light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great a contempt for divination in general; and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. (d) He knew

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(c) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707. (d) Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577—583. Justin. lib. ii. c. 13—16.

that there were arrived in that city, ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terrour of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the states-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. *Æsculapius*, says he, *has showed me but very little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myself.* In private, he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he restored them all the statues, and other curiosities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Passagarda, and other places. We are told, that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himself upon treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But,

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cries * Seneca, in what did this frantick young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules? The latter, free from all self-interested views, travelled through the world, merely to serve the several nations he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it: whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory to consist in carrying desolation into all places, and in rendering himself the terrour of mankind.

At the same time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publickly in the assembly of the Olympick games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But as for the Athanians and Etolians, they did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having dispatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephæstion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia to extinguish what the Persians call the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended; which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please

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Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king, having produced a great number of architects, and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set two hundred and forty-four prows of ships gilded, on the* buttresses, or supporters whereof, the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies,

* In Greek *ἔννο-δε* or ears. which project to the right and left. These are two pieces of timber, of the *προῦ*.

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trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory, of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above an hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanicks, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and surprising boldness, but such a greatness as was scarce conceivable.

(e) It was this artist, who, discoursing some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleased but to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of ten thousand inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves in the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless, he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough there was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternise. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Isthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms.

(e) Plut. de fortun. Alex. ferm. i. p. 335.

* Proud Aibo, who listest thy oppose to my workmen such rocks
that to heaven, be not so bold as to and stoner as they cannot cut; other

terms. *With regard to myself, says Alexander, mount Caucasus, the river * Tanais, the Caspian sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument.*

The expence of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thousand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thousand pounds. But what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse! All this gold, all this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, to raise them above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon a trusty person, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion, as a demigod. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of ten thousand persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governour of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the isle of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant) to excite his diligence, and hasten the work, he grants the governour, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be completed. And now nothing was seen but new altars, temples, and festivals; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity: to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as
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*wife, I will cut thee quite to pieces, tarch. de ira cohib. p. 555.
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** The Iaxarthes is here meant.*

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dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say, whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almost a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; such as to go round Africa by sea; to make a complete discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia; to make war with Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at rest; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that
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there was scarce depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions, since, notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the publick good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and half) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. (f) *I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, had the Lord of hosts sworn above three hundred years before: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction—*(g) *It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation—*
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(f) Isac. c. 14. ver. 22, 23.

(g) Chap. 13. ver. 20.

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(b) Isa.

neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design be put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; *(b) for the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?* Nothing shows more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprises none had ever miscarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it in his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever since. Now Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding ten thousand of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of this prince, so prodigious were its ruins. *(i)* When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers, who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves.

(b) Isa. ch. 14. ver. 27. *(i)* Josephus contra Appion. lib. i. cap. 2.

* See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus.

selves with saying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple, designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their perseverance, discharged, and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel: he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: for though, in certain moments, he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened (if ever so little extraordinary and unusual) his imagination swelled it

* God gives him this name in *Isaiab.*

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it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrifices, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosophick eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned to the strongest terrors; so true is it, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the superstitious man, whose soul is a prey to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a just judgement, took a pleasure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquests which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea of grandeur: and God delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which virtuous men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the same furious bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here then," cries * Seneca, (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness)

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot temporum locorumque difficultate, prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa transferat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia,

enness) "is this hero; invincible to all the toils of
"prodigious marches, to the dangers of sieges and
"combats, to the most violent extremes of heat and
"cold; here he lies, conquered by his intemperance,
"and struck to the earth by the fatal cup of
"Hercules."

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some good intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding † his great weakness, he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire; he answered, *To the most worthy*; adding, that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease. And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they should pay him divine honours; he replied, *When you are happy*. These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

No one, says Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time

A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt; intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculeus ac fatalis scyphus condidit. *Senec. Epist.* 83.

† Quamquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui

eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam osculari non curaret, quæ jam fato oppressa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam spiritu vividior, suscit? *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 1.

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time that such reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die that way: for all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not show the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons: that Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the * poison from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his sons to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison, or by excessive drinking, it is surprising to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God has reserved to himself only the knowledge

* It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which at its drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is so vastly sharp, that it corrodes what-
ever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon, in a vessel of the latter sort.

knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are yet not above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge * those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent: by these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretell certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but † God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them, in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of such lying spirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the best, the most valiant prince in the universe; and all exclaimed against the gods, for having enviously bereaved mankind of him,

* *Dæmones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris & invisibilibus modis. S. August. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.*

† Facile est & non incongruum,

ut omnipotens & justus, ad eorum pœnam quibus ista prædicantur— occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus a— quid divinationis impertiat. S. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæst. 3.

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him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and on the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered, that they were on the farther side (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it; and to raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the province; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being still inconsolable for the death of Hephæstion her husband, the sight of the publick calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syfigambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead: *who now*, would she say, *will take care of my daughters; Where shall we find another Alexander?* She would fancy she saw them again reduced to a state of captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom

dom a second time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At last, she sunk under her grief. This princess, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength of mind sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death, to avoid her surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor, of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Arideus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king; and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas should have the care of both; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. (k) Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meanest of mortals.

(k) *Ælian* l. xiii. c. 30.

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SECT. XIX. *The judgement we are to form of*
ALEXANDER.

THE reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not take notice of the judgement we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extasy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to have prevailed: others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours, as at least sully, if not quite eclipse, the splendour of his victories.

This diversity of sentiments denotes that Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whose history we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or seasons in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, supposing he had turned them towards Italy, he † discovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wise, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect: the other immersed in all the wantonness of an haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.

VOL. VI.

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* *Luxuria, industria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Tacit.*

† *Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novæ fortunæ, no-*

vique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dario magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

I shall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and in a manner, two æras; first, from his youth till the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre, which followed soon after; and secondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of these); the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendour of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. (1) He delighted in bestowing and doing service, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, *And am I then to have no ball?* No, sir, replied the lad, *you do not ask me for it.* This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, *that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours.*

Alexander, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on

(1) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony in respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one sense, than to his father. A man who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Is it possible for us to admire too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors? His early wisdom, whilst, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself?

It is a pain to me, to see him wanting in respect to his father at a banquet, and employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself; but still no pretence, no injustice or violence

violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

(*m*) He afterwards discovered more moderation, when, on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, *That nothing was more royal, than for a man to bear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good.* It has been observed, that the great prince of (*n*) Conde did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him: *Go, says he, ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you.* “ Alexander (says that prince) abandoned by his own troops among Barbarians, who were not yet completely conquered, believes himself so worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think men could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found subjects.” Alexander’s patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less wonderful.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appease the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than three years, he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This

(*m*) Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

(*n*) St. Evremond.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius, till the time mentioned by us. (o) Plutarch very justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroick act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treasury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians: in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprise with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philosophy supplied him, and which he thoroughly studied; so that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquest to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprise must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and more so, by their hereditary

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(o) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 307.

* About thirty thousand pounds.

and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians; such an army, I say, headed by Alexander, was almost sure of conquering an army, composed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him such a zeal and tenderness, as is proof against all things: after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was, to astonish his enemies by bold enterprises, to terrify them by examples of severity; and, lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these. The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Halicarnassus, showed Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the last city to the very foundations, spread an universal terror; but the allowing all those the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises were relative to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known, that, in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the Campus Martius, with running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By these exercises they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes

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lakes in an enemy's country; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having been long exposed to the sun-beams, which, with the weight of the soldier's arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologise for Alexander's bathing himself in a river, which had like to have been fatal to him, especially as he might not know that the waters of it were so excessive cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great soldier; as skill in making choice of a field of battle; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent reservedness, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy, as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly insurmountable, and which know no other bounds or issue but victory.

Historians have observed a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour, and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force of arms. The former discovered more art, the latter had a greater soul. (p) Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail

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(p) Pausan. l. vii. p. 415.

* Vincendi ratio utrique differentior ille consilio, hic animo
 fa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella
 tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere
 hostibus, hic palum fufis. Prudentior ille consilio, hic animo
 Philippum turpis ratio vincendi.
Justin. lib. ix. cap. 8.

with himself to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his foldiers, upon the severest penalties, not to make the least havock in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. (q) Memnon also delighted in behaving with generosity towards Alexander; and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince: *I did not take thee into my pay*, says that general, striking him with his javelin, *to speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight against him.*

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident in his life: is the point of fight in which it is his interest to be considered, and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not only of Darius's person, but also of his empire. Not only Syligambis, that king's mother was his captive; but also his wife and daughters, princesses whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia. (r) Alexander was in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion: nevertheless, his camp was, to those princesses, a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wish success to so wise and generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which

(q) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

(r) Et juvenis, & celebs, & victor. Val. Max. 2. iv. c. 3.

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which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: this is, his being informed by a soul capable of a tender friendship; his openness, truth, perseverance, and humility, in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all things around it, and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with free, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers; treated them with the greatest familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exercises, and conversations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and shared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debase his dignity, by such a familiarity and condescension; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall over-top them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons only, not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greatest difficulties and dangers: this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendour: goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom, have

crowned it, and added such a lustre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne, with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia; that he declares himself protector of all the cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to secure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himself to his subjects: in fine, that now become, by the terrour of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he sees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations, and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: supposing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever blessed mankind.

To the forming so great a character, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory, are required, such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not * consider, that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander was far from

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria—Arcus, & statuas, aras etiam templaque scinditur & obscurat oblivio; contra, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potentiae domitor ac frangit animus ipsa vetustate non rescit. *Plin. in Pan. Trajan.*

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from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the greatest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy disposition, which, not being quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprise more wild and extravagant, than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Lybia; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far, in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon; and purchase, at so dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

(s) How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which signifies *health* *, except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish, all his subjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is so groveling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable, and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it, to spend whole days and nights in carousing, to continue these excesses for weeks together; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how greatly shocking is it to hear the frantick discourses of a son, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to sully his glory, and, lost to all shame, prefer himself to him? Drunkenness is only the occasion, not the cause, of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and despising all mankind, has the power in his sober moments to conceal his sentiments; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shows himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say of his barbarously murdering an old friend; who, though indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? Of the death of the most honest man in his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified: to speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

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I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be considered in a more conspicuous light than his father; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his soldiers, but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the rise of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himself of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest and most sagacious people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and the most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions,

actions, must give in favour of the latter: what judgement are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed, by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero; I mean, the justice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words: *What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest? Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers; Thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world.* This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spoke to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked * him, what right he had to infest the seas? *The same that thou hast,* replied

* Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum; ille, liberâ contumaciâ:

Quodd tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna classe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. 3. de rep.

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replied the pirate with a generous liberty, *to infest the universe: But because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because thou adest the same part with a great fleet, thou art entitled conqueror.* This was a witty and just answer, says (i) St. Austin, who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition; is unjust; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come * from a little spot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I say, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity. It is related that † Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer

(i) St. Aust. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. iv.

* Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, & ad ignota mittebat——Jam in unum regnum multa regna coniecit: (or congressit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solenque, indignatur ab Hercules Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere: ipsi naturæ vim parat—&, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, & tanta initiorum suorum oblivio. Ille

modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia Dominus, detecto sine terrarum, per suum rediturus orbem, tristis est. *Senec. Epist. 94. & 119.*

† Alexander pectus insatiabile landis, qui Anaxarcho—innumera- biles Mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quod ne nunc quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domici- lio sufficit. *Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14.*

conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in * Seneca, to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts who live merely by blood and slaughter?

Alexander, † passionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or just bounds, prided himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror, and this frantick youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He over-ran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in rendering himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their poisons.

But leaving this first consideration, which represents conquerors to us as so many scourges sent by the wrath of heaven into the world to punish the sins of it, let us proceed to examine the last conquests, abstractedly

* Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quam inundatio—quam conflagratio. *Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. in Præfat.*

† Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens, ac ne ibi quidem resistens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat vesanus adolescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit: orbem terrarum tran-

sivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator? At hic a pueritia latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium pernicies quam amicorum, qui summum bonum duceret terrore esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissima tantum sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. *Senec. de Benef.*
l. i. c. 13.

fractedly in themselves, of Alexander, in order to see what judgement we are to form of them.

It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendour that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastick courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldness that is equally blind, rash, and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardour for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, be the methods ever so unlawful? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose life is only exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action: but is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and share the danger with his troops in order to preserve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent in preserving the army. It steers equally between a fearful wisdom, that foresees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristicks suit Alexander? When we peruse history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we see a rapid flood, which is going to draw in,
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and swallow up this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, upon which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfix'd by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the axe just ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, expos'd to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuad'd, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

(u) Plutarch, in a * treatise where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. (v) Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could be excus'd only in a young man, and justly deserv'd censure. It has been observ'd in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it else-where, that he was never wound'd † in all his battles. I cannot say, whether Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen very much the merit of his victories, and the splendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy,

(u) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 314. in Pelop. p. 278.

(x) Timotheus. Plut.

* This treatise, if written by a youth, and has very much the air of a declamation.

† Mention is made but of one single wound.

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in a digression, where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy; and where he shows that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have resisted him on all occasions; and in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of to Pyrrhus his sovereign, said, was composed of so many kings. "Had he * marched" (says Livy) against the Romans, he would soon have found, that he was no longer combating against a Darius, who, encumbered with gold and purple, the vain equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; and whom Alexander conquered without shedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring to despise what was really contemptible. He would have found Italy very different from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, his army quite stupified with wine; particularly when he should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there lost his life." The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as strongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared

* Non jam cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortissimæ suæ apparatibus, prædam ventris quàm hostem, nihil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longè alius

Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commessabundus incescit, visus illi habitus esset, salutus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanus cernenti, & visticia recentia domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander absumptus erat. *Liv. l. ix. n. 17.*

peared very different in Italy from what he had seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy show, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either so rapid, or so uninterrupted. Nevertheless, with some, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason: both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution, and courage, were put to the trial, and set in the strongest light. Now, should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vices, the presumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst of praise and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himself the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free, victorious

* *Referre in tanto Rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, & desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; & fœda supplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vani-*

tatem ementiendæ stirpis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior; quid si trux ac præservida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoris virtutibus ducimus?
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people themselves, which rous exers, and the mid Livy, greatly fander's nor lim dangers, weakness skilled i enervate merited This ho reader.

As to tors who to Alex equalled to soar thing m stroke w not exal this den ing; and judgements mind. power, of the so the first, of a great dian, and by good land, flour ences; t his subje

people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominiously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and carousals: can any one, says Livy, believe, that all these imperfections do not greatly fully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantick ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least reason or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought: do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surpris'd to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy, that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyrick to soar higher: they cannot image to themselves any thing more august; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to say it, a want of judgement, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential, and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by sea and land, flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured;

jured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the publick welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the father of his people, consequently as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment after he ascended the throne left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems possessed of such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war, and these are all extravagant; are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilst his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppression so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear in a more advantageous light: for these, after having plundered the wealth of the East, and after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, -amounting to fifteen hundred thousand pounds. What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyrick, to compare him with such a model?

The Romans, indeed, seem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man. Cæsar (x) seeing his statue in a temple in

Spain,

(x) Dion. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. . 873.

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Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince: he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: he persecuted the Peripateticks, and would have burnt all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly assert, that if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression in his mind, as will make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal, and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECT. XX. *Reflections on the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monsieur BOSSUET, Bishop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be displeased with my inserting here part of the admirable * reflections of the Bishop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whose history we have heard.

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* *Discourse on universal history. Part iii. Chap. 4.*

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators, who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves, was subject to the law, that is, to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign; it was the appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their mal-administration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeable to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's

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body's hands, diverted them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics; their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

(x) The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times, and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made these nations delight so much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: on that of Greece was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reason, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hytaspes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous.

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(x) Isocrates in Panegyric.

as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitude and confusion; and how greatly superior courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated this effect. (y) As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having always been used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that the power of the Persians could not distress them, but they turned their arms against each other.

Among the several republicks of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece: so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and dispositions.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either: for besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shown, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republicks.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole secret of their politicks was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmonia, being the

(y) Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

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most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with a view of subjecting the whole nation; and industrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them all together. (z) And now the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the ancient spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who had followed the Younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice, and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and

(z) Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat. in Paneg.

and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a just, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense, nor vigour, for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare them; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, sublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obstacles animated) of the latter; with that boundless desire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by Providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired, not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves: the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible armies. And thus we discover, at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To smooth his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

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This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splendour and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers, nor mountains could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless, the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

But the circumstance which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all sides, as a succession that

was become vacant; and after being long exposed a prey, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vast bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But, rising to too exalted an height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests.

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